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THE

HISTORY

NOT TO BE ISSUED

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

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By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.



IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

A NEW EDITION.

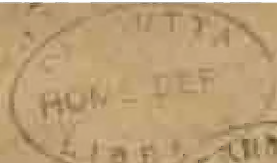
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
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ROMAN EMPIRE.



CHAP. XXII.

*Julian is declared emperor by the legions of Gaul—
His march and success—The death of Constantius—
Civil administration of Julian.*

WHILE the Romans languished under the ignominious tyranny of eunuchs and bishops, the praises of Julian were repeated with transport in every part of the empire, except in the palace of Constantius. The barbarians of Germany had felt, and still dreaded, the arms of the young Caesar; his soldiers were the companions of his victory; the grateful provincials enjoyed the blessings of his reign: but the favourites, who had opposed his elevation, were offended by his virtues; and they justly considered the friend of the people as the enemy of the court. As long as the fame of Julian

CHAP.
XXII.

The
history of
Constantius
transcript
Julian

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was doubtful, the buffoons of the palace, who were skilled in the language of satire, tried the efficacy of those arts which they had so often practised with success. They easily discovered, that his simplicity was not exempt from affectation: the ridiculous epithets of an hairy savage, of an ape invested with the purple, were applied to the dress and person of the philosophic warrior; and his modest despatches were stigmatised as the vain and elaborate fictions of a loquacious Greek, a speculative soldier, who had studied the art of war amidst the groves of the academy.* The voice of malicious folly was at length silenced by the shouts of victory: the conqueror of the Franks and Alemanni could no longer be painted as an object of contempt: and the monarch himself was meanly ambitious of stealing from his lieutenant the honourable reward of his labours. In the letters crowned with laurel, which, according to ancient custom, were addressed to the provinces, the name of Julian was omitted. "Constantius had made his dispositions in person: *he* had signalized his valour in the foremost ranks: *his* military

* *Quem quo plus possent in palatio, altiusque persequi, non dubitantes, verbis comitis, propterea complacere verendum in derisionis, nulla alia modo circumspectio habuit; sic eorum verbis non electis non; capitis, non hunc; in Eusebium Julianum aspernos, appellantesque loquacem talpinum, et porphyreum similes, et Aristonem Cynicum et his conjugatis pluribus aliisque vernaculis principis remanentes, indigne hinc taliaque gestant, virtutis quoque necesse verba impudenter resistent, ut legiones humiles et timidas et undecimales, potius non verbis complacere evadentibus. Acta, libent, xvi, 11.*

“conduct had secured the victory: and the captive king of the barbarians was presented to him on the field of battle,” from which he was at that time distant above forty days journey.* So extravagant a fable was incapable, however, of deceiving the public credulity, or even of satisfying the pride of the emperor himself. Secretly conscious that the applause and favour of the Romans accompanied the rising fortunes of Julian, his discontented mind was prepared to receive the subtle poison of those artful sycophants, who coloured their mischievous designs with the fairest appearances of truth and candour.† Instead of depreciating the merits of Julian, they acknowledged, and even exaggerated, his popular fame, superior talents, and important services. But they darkly insinuated, that the virtues of the Caesar might instantly be converted into the most dangerous crimes, if the inconstant multitude should prefer their inclinations to their duty; or if the general of a victorious army should be tempted

* *Ammian.* xvi, 12. The *senatus* *Themasius* (iv, p. 36, 37) believed whatever was contained in the imperial letters, which were addressed to the senate of Constantinople. *Ammian* *Victor*, who published his *Abridgement* in the last year of Constantine, ascribes the *Gothian* victories to the wisdom of the emperor, and the *fortness* of the *Caesar*. Yet the *barbarians*, soon afterwards, were indulged in the *ferocity* of actions of Julian for the honour of a *free* *senate*; and the important offices of *integrity* of the *senatus* *Prætorius*, and *prætor* of the *city*. *Ammian.* xxi, 16.

† *Callido* *incauti* *artibus*, *accusantibus* *diffidens* *hæc* *senatus* *persequitur*. . . . *His* *vero* *foribus* *ad* *inducenda* *sub* *prelo* *con-* *stituenda* *potestatem*. See *Ramusius* in *Artibus* *Oratorum* in *Vita* *Panegy.* xi, 4, 6.

CHAP. from his illegitimacy by the hopes of revenge, and
XXII. independent greatness. The personal fears of
Constantius were interpreted by his council as a
laudable anxiety for the public safety; whilst
in private, and perhaps in his own breast, he
disguised, under the less odious appellation of
fear, the sentiments of hatred and envy, which
he had secretly conceived for the inevitable vic-
tims of Julian.

The in-
surrection of
Gaul was
undoubtedly
connected to
the death of
A. D. 324,
April.

The apparent tranquillity of Gaul, and the
imminent danger of the eastern provinces, offer-
ed a specious pretence for the design which was
actually concerted by the imperial ministers.
They resolved to disarm the Caesar; to recall
those faithful troops who guarded his person and
dignity; and to employ, in a distant war against
the Persian monarch, the hardy veterans who
had vanquished, on the banks of the Rhine, the
fiercest nations of Germany. While Julian used
the laborious hours of his winter-quarters at
Paris, in the administration of power, which, in
his hands, was the exercise of virtue, he was
surprised by the hasty arrival of a tribune and a
notary, with positive orders from the emperor,
which they were directed to execute, and he was
commanded to obey. Constantius signified
his pleasure, that four entire legions, the Cætas,
and Petulantes, the Ugenti, and the Batavians,
should be separated from the standard of Julian,
under which they had acquired their fame and
discipline; that in each of the remaining bands,
three hundred of the bravest youths should be

selected; and that this numerous detachment, the strength of the Gallic army, should instantly begin their march, and exert their utmost diligence to arrive, before the opening of the campaign, on the frontiers of Persia.* The Cæsar foresaw, and lamented the consequences of this fatal mandate. Most of the auxiliaries, who engaged their voluntary service, had stipulated, that they should never be obliged to pass the Alps. The public faith of Rome, and the personal honour of Julian, had been pledged for the observance of this condition. Such an act of treachery and oppression would destroy the confidence, and excite the resentment, of the independent warriors of Germany, who considered truth as the noblest of their virtues, and freedom as the most valuable of their possessions. The legionaries, who enjoyed the title and privileges of Romans, were enlisted for the general defence of the republic; but those mercenary troops heard with cold indifference the antiquated names of the republic and of Rome. Attached, either from birth or long habit, to the climate and manners of Gaul, they loved and admired Julian; they despised, and perhaps hated, the emperor; they dreaded the laborious march, the Persian arrows, and the burning de-

* The remote interval, which may be supposed, between the time when the price was announced, and the time when the troops of Gaul would have reached Persia, would render the orders of Constantine as extravagant as they were unjust. The troops of Gaul could not have reached Persia till the end of autumn. The emperor of Armenia must have been long before he could have begun his march.

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sets of Asia. They claimed as their own the country which they had saved; and excused their want of spirit, by pleading the sacred and more immediate duty of protecting their families and friends. The apprehensions of the Gauls were derived from the knowledge of the impending and inevitable danger. As soon as the provinces were exhausted of their military strength, the Germans would violate a treaty which had been imposed on their fears; and notwithstanding the abilities and valour of Julian, the general of a nominal army, to whom the public calamities would be imputed, must find himself, after a vain resistance, either a prisoner in the camp of the barbarians, or a criminal in the palace of Constantius. If Julian complied with the orders which he had received, he subscribed his own destruction, and that of a people who deserved his affection. But a positive refusal was an act of rebellion, and a declaration of war. The inexorable jealousy of the emperor, the peremptory, and perhaps insidious, nature of his commands, left not any room for a fair apology or candid interpretation; and the dependent station of the Caesar scarcely allowed him to pause or to deliberate. Solitude increased the perplexity of Julian; he could no longer apply to the faithful counsels of Sallust, who had been removed from his office by the judicious malice of the eunuchs; he could not even enforce his representations by the concurrence of the ministers, who would have been afraid, or ashamed, to approve the ruin of Gaul. The moment had

been chosen, when Lupicinus,* the general of the cavalry, was despatched into Britain, to repulse the inroads of the Scots and Picts; and Florentinus was occupied at Vienna by the assessment of the tribute. The latter, a crafty and corrupt statesman, declining to assume a responsible part on this dangerous occasion, eluded the pressing and repeated invitations of Julian, who represented to him, that, in every important measure, the presence of the prefect was indispensable in the council of the prince. In the meanwhile, the Cæsar was oppressed by the rude and importunate solicitations of the imperial messengers, who presumed to suggest, that if he expected the return of his ministers, he would charge himself with the guilt of the delay, and reserve for them the merit of the execution. Unable to resist, unwilling to comply, Julian expressed, in the most serious terms, his wish, and even his intention, of resigning the purple, which he could not preserve with honour, but which he could not abdicate with safety.

After a painful conflict, Julian was compelled to acknowledge, that obedience was the virtue of the most eminent subject; and that the sove-

Their dis-
contents.

* Ammianus, xii. 4. The talents of Lupicinus, and his military skill, are acknowledged by the historians, who, in his affected language, accuse the general of wasting the hours of his bride, believing in a tragic home, and exciting a doubt, whether he was more cruel or studious. The danger from the Scots and Picts was so remote, that Julian himself had scarce thoughts of passing over to the island.

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XXII.
Continued.

rough alone was entitled to judge of the public welfare. He issued the necessary orders for carrying into execution the commands of Constantine; a part of the troops began their march for the Alps; and the detachments from the several garrisons moved towards their respective places of assembly. They advanced with difficulty through the trembling and alarmed crowds of provincials, who attempted to excite their pity by silent despair, or loud lamentations; while the wives of the soldiers, holding their infants in their arms, accused the desertion of their husbands, in the mixed language of grief, of tenderness, and of indignation. 'This scene of general distress afflicted the humanity of the Caesar; he granted a sufficient number of post-waggons to transport the wives and families of the soldiers,' endeavoured to alleviate the hardships which he was constrained to inflict, and increased, by the most laudable arts, his own popularity, and the discontent of the exiled troops. The grief of an armed multitude is soon converted into rage; their licentious murmurs, which every hour were communicated from tent to tent with more boldness and effect, prepared their minds for the most daring acts of sedition; and by the connivance of their tribunes, a reasonable libel was secretly dispersed, which painted,

¹ He granted them the permission of *Oni sacra claudere, et absolvere*. These post-waggons are often mentioned in the Gals, and were supposed to carry about hundred pounds weight. See Valer. ad Antonin. 22. 4.

in lively colours, the disgrace of the Cæsar, CHAP. XXIV.
the oppression of the Gallie army, and the feeble-
vices of the tyrant of Asia. The servants of XXIV.
Constantine were astonished and alarmed by the
progress of this dangerous spirit. They pressed
the Cæsar to hasten the departure of the troops:
but they impudently rejected the honest and
judicious advice of Julian, who proposed that
they should not march through Paris, and sug-
gested the danger and temptation of a last in-
terview.

As soon as the approach of the troops was They pro-
unannounced, the Cæsar went out to meet them, ceeded Ju-
and ascended his tribunal, which had been lian's design.
erected in a plain before the gates of the city.
After distinguishing the officers and soldiers,
who by their rank or merit deserved a peculiar
attention, Julian addressed himself in a studied
oration to the surrounding multitude: he cele-
brated their exploits with grateful applause:
encouraged them to accept, with alacrity, the
honour of serving under the eyes of a powerful
and liberal monarch: and admonished them,
that the commands of Augustus required an in-
stant and cheerful obedience. The soldiers, who
were apprehensive of offending their general by
an indecent clamour, or of beliesing their senti-
ments by false and venal acclamations, main-
tained an obstinate silence, and, after a short
pause, were dismissed to their quarters. The
principal officers were entertained by the Cæsar,
who professed, in the warmest language of friend-

CHAP.
XXII.

ship, his desire and his inability to reward, according to their deserts, the brave companions of his victories. They retired from the feast full of grief and perplexity; and lamented the hardship of their fate, which tore them from their beloved general and their native country. The only expedient which could prevent their separation was boldly agitated and approved; the popular resentment was insensibly moulded into a regular conspiracy; their just reasons of complaint were heightened by passion, and their passions were inflamed by wine; as on the eve of their departure, the troops were indulged in licentious festivity. At the hour of midnight, the impetuous multitude, with swords, and bows, and torches, in their hands, rushed into the suburbs; encompassed the palace,^c and,

^c Most probably the palace of the bachelors, (*Pharmacus*), of which a solid and lofty wall still subsists in the *rue de la Harpe*. The buildings retained a considerable space of the ancient quarter of the university; and the gardens, under the Merovingian kings, communicated with the abbey of St. Germain des Prés. By the injuries of time and the Normans, this ancient palace was reduced, in the twelfth century, to a mass of ruins; whose dark recesses were the scene of Horatius' love.

Explosæ uisâ stans inuicemq; uisq; (the site)

Multiplex fractis ædificiis struens ædificium.

— — — — — gemmâsque iusticiæ

Paterna sedes, Veneratq; communis fœdis.

These lines are quoted from the *Architectus*, l. vi. c. 4, a poetical work of John de Hauvilla, or Hauville, a monk of St. Alban's, about the year 1150. See Watson's History of English Poetry, vol. i, dissent. 54. Yet such thefts might be less pernicious to mankind, than the theological disputes of the Schools, which have been since agitated on the same ground. *Denney, Mém. de l'Académie. tom. vi. p. 478-482.*

careless of future dangers, pronounced the fatal and irrevocable words, JULIAN AUGUSTUS! The prince, whose anxious suspense was interrupted by their disorderly acclamations, secured the doors against their intrusion; and, as long as it was in his power, secluded his person and dignity from the accidents of a nocturnal tumult. At the dawn of day, the soldiers, whose zeal was irritated by opposition, forcibly entered the palace, seized, with respectful violence, the object of their choice, guarded Julian with drawn swords through the streets of Paris, placed him on the tribunal, and with repeated shouts saluted him as their emperor. Prudence as well as loyalty inculcated the propriety of resisting their treasonable designs, and of preparing, for his oppressed virtue, the excuse of violence. Addressing himself by turns to the multitude and to individuals, he sometimes implored their mercy, and sometimes expressed his indignation; conjured them not to sully the fame of their immortal victories; and ventured to promise, that if they would immediately return to their allegiance, he would undertake to obtain from the emperor, not only a free and gracious pardon, but even the revocation of the orders which had excited their resentment. But the soldiers, who were conscious of their guilt, chose rather to depend on the gratitude of Julian, than on the clemency of the emperor. Their zeal was insensibly turned into impatience, and their impatience into rage. The inflexible Cæsar was

essions of princes. His lively and active mind was susceptible of the various impressions of hope and fear, of gratitude and revenge, of duty and of ambition, of the love of fame and of the fear of reproach. But it is impossible for us to calculate the respective weight and operation of these sentiments; or to ascertain the principles of action, which might escape the observation, while they guided, or rather impelled, the steps of Julian himself. The discontent of the troops was produced by the number of his enemies: their tumult was the natural effect of interest and of passion; and if Julian had tried to conceal a deep design under the appearance of chance, he must have employed the most consummate artifice without necessity, and probably without success. He solemnly declares, in the presence of Jupiter, of the Sun, of Mars, of Minerva, and of all the other deities, that till the close of the evening which preceded his elevation, he was utterly ignorant of the designs of the soldiers;* and it may seem ingenuous to distrust the honour of a hero, and the truth of a philosopher. Yet the superstitious confidence that Constantine was the enemy, and that he himself was the favourite of the gods, might prompt to desire, to solicit, and even to hasten the propitious moment of his reign, which was predestined to restore the ancient religion of

* Julian ad S. P. Q. R. Athen. p. 184. The Greek Abbé de la Bédollière (*Vie de Julien*, p. 169) is almost content to report the *simple* pretended ignorance of a prince.

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mankind. When Julian had received the intelligence of the conspiracy, he resigned himself to a short slumber, and afterwards related to his friends, that he had seen the Genius of the empire waiting with some impatience at his door, pressing for admittance, and reproaching his want of spirit and ambition.* Astonished and perplexed, he addressed his prayers to the great Jupiter; who immediately signified, by a clear and manifest omen, that he should submit to the will of heaven and of the army. The conduct which disclaims the ordinary maxims of reason, excites our suspicion and chafes our inquiry. Whenever the spirit of fanaticism, at once so credulous and so crafty, has insinuated itself into a noble mind, it insensibly corrodes the vital principles of virtue and veracity.

To moderate the zeal of his party, to protect the persons of his enemies,† to defeat and to despise the secret enterprises which were formed against his life and dignity, were the cares which employed the first days of the reign of the new emperor. Although he was firmly resolved to main-

* Ammian. xi. 3, with the note of Luchemburg on the Genius of the empire. Julius Monod, in a confidential letter to his friend and physician, Oribasius, (Epiq. xxi, p. 284, mentions another dream, to which, before its event, he gave credit,—of a nut-tree thrown to the ground; of a small plant springing a deep root into the earth. Even in his sleep, the mind of Constantine must have been agitated by the hopes and fears of his fortune. Eusebius G. ii, p. 153, relates a subsequent dream.

† The difficult situation of the prince of a rebellious army is there described by Tacitus, (Hist. i, 82, 83). But Oribasius smelt some guile, and watch two soldiers, then Julian.

tain the station which he had assumed, he was still desirous of saving his country from the calamities of civil war, of declining a contest with the superior forces of Constantius, and of preserving his own character from the reproach of perfidy and ingratitude. Adorned with the ensigns of military and imperial pomp, Julian shewed himself in the field of Mars to the soldiers, who glowed with ardent enthusiasm in the cause of their pupil, their leader, and their friend. He recapitulated their victories, lamented their sufferings, applauded their resolution, animated their hopes, and checked their impetuosity; nor did he dismiss the assembly, till he had obtained a solemn promise from the troops, that if the emperor of the East would subscribe an equitable treaty, they would renounce any views of conquest, and satisfy themselves with the tranquil possession of the Gallic provinces. On this foundation he composed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a specious and moderate epistle,* which was delivered to Pentadius, his master of the officers, and to his chamberlain Eutherius; two ambassadors whom he appointed to receive the answer, and observe the dispositions of Constantius. This epistle is inscribed with the modest appellation of *Cæsar*; but Julian solicits, in a peremptory, though respectful

* To this remarkable epistle he added, says *Ammonius*, private letters, oblique intimations of reproaches, which the emperor had not seen; and would not have published. Perhaps they never existed.

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manner, the confirmation of the title of Augustus. He acknowledges the irregularity of his assumption; while he justifies, in some measure, the resentment and violence of the troops which had extorted his reluctant consent. He allows the supremacy of his brother Constantius; and engages to send him an annual present of Spanish horses, to recruit his army with a select number of barbarian youth, and to accept from his choice a prætorian prefect of approved discretion and fidelity. But he reserves for himself the nomination of his other civil and military officers, with the troops, the revenue, and the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. He admonishes the emperor to distrust the arts of those venal flatterers who subsist only by the discord of princes; and to embrace the offer of a fair and honourable treaty, equally advantageous to the republic, and to the house of Constantine. In this negotiation, Julian claimed no more than he already possessed. The delegated authority which he had long exercised over the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was still stayed under a more independent and august. The soldiers and the people rejoiced in a revolution which was not stained even with the blood of the guilty. Flavianus was a fugitive; Lupicinus a prisoner. The persons who were disaffected to the new government were disarmed and secured; and the vacant offices were distributed according to the recommendation of merit, by =

prince who despised the intrigues of the palace, and the clamours of the soldiers.²

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His death
and 3004
expedition
beyond the
Rhine,
A. D. 302,
361.

*The negotiations of peace were accompanied and supported by the most vigorous preparations for war. The army, which Julian held in readiness for immediate action, was recruited and augmented by the disorders of the times. The cruel persecution of the faction of Maximian had filled Gaul with numerous bands of outlaws and robbers. They cheerfully accepted the offer of a general pardon from a prince whom they could trust, submitted to the restraints of military discipline, and retained only their implacable hatred to the person and government of Constantine. As soon as the season of the year permitted Julian to take the field, he appeared at the head of his legions; threw a bridge over the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cleeves; and prepared to chastise the perfidy of the Atuarii, a tribe of Franks, who presumed that they might ravage, with impunity, the frontiers of a divided empire. The difficulty, as well as glory, of this enterprise, consisted in a laborious march; and Julian had conquered, as soon as he could penetrate into a country which former

¹ See the last Annals of his reign in Julian at R. P. 2. Athen. p. 255, 256; Ammianus, vi, 5, 6; Liber. Hist. Eccles. c. 40, 41, p. 272-273.

² Liber. Hist. Eccles. c. 40, p. 271, 272. A strange disaster, none it continued above seven years. In the actions of the Greek expedition, the allies amounted to 20,000 persons; and Irenæus writes Philip, that it would be easier to raise an army from the rapids than from the sea. See Hume's Essay, tom. i. p. 426, 427.

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princes had considered as inaccessible. After he had given peace to the barbarians, the emperor carefully visited the fortifications along the Rhine from Ulves to Basil; surveyed, with peculiar attention, the territories which he had recovered from the hands of the Alemanni, passed through Besançon,* which had severely suffered from their fury, and fixed his head-quarters at Vienna for the ensuing winter. The barrier of Gaul was improved and strengthened with additional fortifications; and Julian entertained some hopes, that the Germans, whom he had so often vanquished, might, in his absence, be restrained by the terror of his name. Vadomair† was the only prince of the Alemanni whom he esteemed or feared; and while the subtle barbarian affected to observe the faith of treaties, the progress of his arms threatened the state with an unseasonable and dangerous war. The policy of Julian endeavoured to surprise the prince of the Alemanni by his own arts; and Vadomair, who, in the character of a friend, had incautiously accepted an invitation from the Roman governors, was seized in the midst of the entertainment, and sent away prisoner into the heart of Spain.

* Julian (*Epist.* 84d. c. 1, p. 424) calls it *domus* or *domus* of Vesontion or Besançon; a weak personification, occasioned by the great beauty and magnificence of the city, which was supposed, like new-born and not small cities, emerging, however, from its ruins.

† Vadomair joined into the Roman army, and was proposed him a barbarian kingdom to the territory that he took of the Alemanni. He did not think the offer worthy of him, and he, with the help of Valerius, he accepted his return to the Alemanni (*Epist.* 84d. c. 1).

Before the barbarians were recovered from their
 submission, the emperor appeared in arms on
 the banks of the Rhine, and, once more crossing
 the river, renewed the deep impressions of terror
 and respect which had been already made by
 four preceding expeditions.*

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The ambassadors of Julian had been instructed
 to execute, with the utmost diligence, their im-
 portant commission. But, in their passage through
 Italy and Illyricum, they were detained by the
 tedious and affected delays of the provincial
 governors; they were conducted by slow journeys
 from Constantinople to Caesarea in Cappadocia;
 and when at length they were admitted to the
 presence of Constantius, they found that he had
 already conceived, from the despatches of his
 own officers, the most unfavourable opinion of
 the conduct of Julian, and of the Gallic army.
 The letters were heard with impatience: the
 trembling messengers were dismissed with indig-
 nation and contempt; and the looks, the ges-
 tures, the furious language of the monarch, ex-
 pressed the disorder of his soul. The domestic
 connection, which might have reconciled the
 brother and the husband of Helena, was recently
 dissolved by the death of that princess, whose
 pregnancy had been several times fruitless, and
 was at last fatal to herself.† The empress Eu-

*Prælo-
 quary and
 discursive
 view of
 war, A. D.
 301.*

* Ammian. lvi. 104. 105. &c. Zosimus, l. vi. p. 325.

† Her travels were said to have, and indeed were, done in
 her sleep. Constantius, by the request of the Christian emperors, An-
 tonine and Val. Th. Licinius, was compelled to bury, with, and, against the
 will of, her remains.

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selon had preserved, to the last moment of her life, the warm and even jealous affection which she had conceived for Julian; and her mild influence might have moderated the resentment of a prince, who, since her death, was abandoned to his own passions, and to the arts of his eunuchs. But the terror of a foreign invasion obliged him to suspend the punishment of a private enemy; he continued his march towards the confines of Persia, and thought it sufficient to signify the conditions which might entitle Julian and his guilty followers to the clemency of their offended sovereign. He required, that the presumptuous Cæsar should expressly renounce the appellation and rank of Augustus, which he had accepted from the rebels; that he should descend to his former station of a limited and dependant minister; that he should vest the powers of the state and army in the hands of those officers who were appointed by the imperial court; and that he should trust his safety to the assurances of pardon, which were announced by Epictetus, a Gallic bishop, and one of the Arian favourites of Constantius. Several months were ineffectually consumed in a treaty which was negotiated at the distance of three thousand miles

justly her from a very unusual charge of poisoning his wife, and revealing her physicians with his mother's jewels. (See the seventh of *Memories, new editions*, published at Venice 1734, tom. 4. 248. in St. Mark's library, p. 117-121). Epictetus, the pretended friend of the East, in whose evidence the success of Julian's appeals, is censured by Lactantius, as *effeminate and ingrateful*; yet the religion of Epictetus is praised by Jerome, tom. 1. p. 245, and his humanity by Ammianus, 142, 6.)

between Paris and Antioch; and as soon as Julian perceived that his moderate and respectful behaviour served only to irritate the pride of an implacable adversary, he boldly resolved to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war. He gave a public and military audience to the quaestor Leonas: the haughty epistle of Constantius was read to the attentive multitude; and Julian protested, with the most flattering deference, that he was ready to resign the title of Augustus, if he could obtain the consent of those whom he acknowledged as the authors of his elevation. The saint proposal was impetuously silenced; and the acclamations of "Julian Augustus, continue to reign, by the authority of the army, of the people, of the republic, which you have saved," thundered at once from every part of the field, and terrified the pale ambassador of Constantius. A part of the letter was afterwards read, in which the emperor arraigned the ingratitude of Julian, whom he had invested with the honours of the purple; whom he had educated with so much care and tenderness; whom he had preserved in his infancy, when he was left a helpless orphan. "An orphan!" interrupted Julian, who justified his cause by indulging his passions: "Does the assassin of my family reproach me that I was left an orphan? He urges me to revenge those injuries which I have long studied to forget." The assembly was dismissed; and Leonas, who, with some difficulty, had been protected from the

Figure 1 is a line graph showing the percentage of total sample for each age group (0-14, 15-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65-74, 75+) across different years (1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020). The Y-axis represents the percentage of total sample (0-100%). The X-axis represents the years. The graph shows that the percentage of the total sample in the 0-14 age group has decreased significantly over time, while the percentage in the 65-74 age group has increased significantly.

payable to him, was sent back to his master, with an opinion, in which Julian expressed, in a strain of the most vehement eloquence, the sentiments of contempt, of hatred, and of resentment, which had been suppressed and embittered by the disimulation of twenty years. After this message, which might be considered as a signal of irreconcilable war, Julian, who some weeks before had celebrated the Christian festival of the Epiphany, made a public declaration, that he committed the care of his society to the remnant of gods; and thus publicly renounced the religion, as well as the friendship, of Constantine.*

The situation of Julian required a vigorous and immediate resolution. He had discovered, from intercepted letters, that his adversary, considering the interests of the state to that of the

For many days previous to January 1, 1861, the Christian Advocate, published in Chicago, published a number of articles, signed "Agrippa," giving the reasons, that it was an infidelity, and all concerned with the subject, since the signature of Agrippa, did, and perhaps had, circulated on the same day the first of January the letters and the baptism of the sacrament. The National, an anti-slave in this locality of the year date of the paper, said the paper referred to the 23rd of December, the Advocate, in a similar manner, when the paper recently published the death of the man. For the Advocate's collection of the Christian Advocate, 1861, 1862, and December 1861, Chicago the Advocate, 1861, 1862, 1863.

* The precise and exact regulations between Constantinian and Julian, such as Hieronymus, with some caution, from Julius Nizemski, (*Proc. of N. F. Q. Athens*, p. 189), Lilius, (*Proc. Farnes. in A.*, p. 276); Ammonius, (*St. P. Kaban*, t. II, p. 122), and even Gregory, (*Proc. A.*, t. III, p. 93, 21, 22), who, — thus connecting, it seems to have occurred and thus, were substantially complete.

monarch, had again excited the barbarians to invade the provinces of the West. The position of two magazines, one of them collected on the banks of the lake of Constance, the other formed at the foot of the Cottian Alps, seemed to indicate the march of two armies; and the size of those magazines, each of which consisted of six hundred thousand quarters of wheat, or rather flour,* was a threatening evidence of the strength and numbers of the enemy who prepared to surround him. But the imperial legions were still in their distant quarters of Asia: the Danube was feebly guarded; and if Julian could occupy, by a sudden incursion, the important provinces of Illyria, he might expect that a people of soldiers would resort to his standard, and that the rich mines of gold and silver would contribute to the expences of the civil war. He proposed this bold enterprise to the assembly of the soldiers; inspired them with a just confidence in their general, and in themselves; and exhorted them to maintain their reputation, as being terrible to the enemy, moderate to their fellow-citizens, and obedient to their officers. His spirited discourse was received with the loudest acclamations, and the same troops which had taken up arms against Constantine, when he summoned them to leave Gaul, now declared with

* These immense supplies, or those supplies of subsistence were however limited to the soldiers, and a lack continued in Rome itself. Julian explains the difficulty and is particularly the danger of his campaign, and the necessity and advantage of an offensive war (see *E. P. II. Arden. p. 465. 287*).

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alacrity, that they would follow Julian to the farthest extremities of Europe or Asia. The oath of fidelity was administered; and the soldiers, clashing their shields, and pointing their drawn swords to their throats, devoted themselves, with horrid imprecations, to the service of a leader whom they celebrated as the deliverer of Gaul, and the conqueror of the Germans.¹ This solemn engagement, which seemed to be dictated by affection rather than by duty, was singly opposed by Nébrius, who had been admitted to the office of prætorian præfect. That faithful minister, alone and unassisted, asserted the rights of Constantine in the midst of an armed and angry multitude, to whose fury he had almost fallen an honourable, but useless, sacrifice. After losing one of his hands by the stroke of a sword, he embraced the knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered the præfect with his imperial mantle, and, protecting him from the zeal of his followers, dismissed him to his own house, with less respect than was perhaps due to the virtue of an enemy.² The high office of Nébrius was bestowed on Sallust; and the provinces of Gaul, which were now delivered from the intolerable oppression of taxes, enjoyed the mild and equitable administration of the friend of Julian, who was permitted to practise those

¹ See his oration, and the behaviour of the troops, in Ammien. lib. 23.

² He openly refused his hand to the suppliant præfect, whom he sent into Thessaly, (Ammien. lib. 23. § 2.) Eusebius, with savage fury, reviles Nébrius, applauds the soldiers, and almost censures the humanity of Julian, (Orig. Parent. c. 33, p. 276.)

virtues which he had instilled into the mind of his pupil.^a

The hopes of Julian depended much less on the number of his troops, than on the celerity of his motions. In the execution of a daring enterprise, he availed himself of every precaution, as far as prudence could suggest; and where prudence could no longer accompany his steps, he trusted the event to valour and to fortune. In the neighbourhood of Basil he assembled and divided his army.* One body, which consisted of ten thousand men, was directed, under the command of Nevitta, general of the cavalry, to advance through the midland parts of Rætia and Noricum. A smaller division of troops, under the orders of Jovius and Jovinus, prepared to follow the oblique course of the highways, through the Alps, and the northern confines of Italy. The instructions to the generals were conceived with energy and precision: to hasten their march in close and compact columns, which, according to the disposition of the ground, might readily be changed into any order of battle: to secure themselves against the surprises of the night by strong posts and vigilant guards: to prevent resistance by their unexpected arrival: to elude

^a Ammian. lib. 8. In this proposition, Julian shared the law which he publicly imposed on himself. *Requiescit quiesque jactis non militibus ensis, abspiciuntur praese, moerore, sollicitudine, ut praestentur venient praedictis.* (Ammian. lib. 10.) Alexander did not however pay regard for Sallust, with whose name (A. D. 100) he honoured the magistracy.

^b Ammianus lib. 8. mentions the great numbers, and the same notices, in Alexander the Great, and other illustrious generals.

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[REMARKS.]

annihilation by their sudden departure: to spread the opinion of their strength, and the terror of his name; and to join their sovereign under the walls of Strimmon. For himself, Julian had reserved a more difficult and extraordinary part. He selected three thousand brave and active volunteers, ready, like their leader, to cast behind them every hope of a retreat: at the head of this faithful band, he fearlessly plunged into the recesses of the Marician or black forest, which conceals the sources of the Danube; and, for many days, the fate of Julian was unknown to the world. The secrecy of his march, his diligence, and vigour, surmounted every obstacle: he forced his way over mountains and morasses, scraped the bridges, or swam the rivers, pursued his direct course,* without reflecting whether he traversed the territory of the Romans or of the barbarians, and at length emerged, between Bratislava and Vienna, at the place where he designed to embark his troops on the Danube. By a well-concerted stratagem, he seized a fleet

* This word was a part of the great *therapsia* forest, which is the name of *Carus*; stretched away from the country of the Huns almost into the boundless regions of the north. See *Amm.*, *lib. 25*, *cap. 10*, *lib. 26*, *cap. 10*.

† *Comptes Rendus*, *lib. 25*, *cap. 10*, *lib. 26*, *cap. 10*, *lib. 27*, *cap. 10*. See also *Amm.*, *lib. 25*, *cap. 10*. Even the word *adversus* the word and sense of this march. A similar word might apply to the progress of Julian, the word which was originally designed for another purpose.

— *Ex egressu per fluvium.*

— *Ex egressu per fluvium, ex egressu per fluvium, ex egressu per fluvium.*

— *Ex egressu per fluvium, ex egressu per fluvium, ex egressu per fluvium.*

— *Ex egressu per fluvium, ex egressu per fluvium, ex egressu per fluvium.*

of light brigantines, as it lay at anchor: secured CHAP.
 a supply of various provisions sufficient to satisfy XIII.
 the indelicate, but voracious, appetite of a Gal-
 lic army: and boldly committed himself to the
 stream of the Danube. The labours of his ma-
 riners, who plied their oars with incessant dili-
 gence, and the steady continuance of a favourable
 wind, carried his fleet above seven hundred miles
 in eleven days: and he had already disembarked
 his troops at Rastatt, only sixteen miles from
 Stridum, before his friends could receive any
 certain intelligence that he had left the banks of
 the Rhine. In the course of this long and rapid
 navigation, the mind of Julian was fixed on the
 object of his enterprise; and though he accepted
 the deputations of some cities, which hastened to
 claim the merit of an early submission, he passed
 before the hostile stations, which were placed
 along the river, without indulging the temptation
 of signalling an useless and ill-timed valour.
 The banks of the Danube were crowded on either
 side with spectators, who gazed on the military
 pomp, anticipated the importance of the event,
 and diffused through the adjacent country the
 fame of a young hero, who advanced with more

* In that interval the Natives planted on these banks, 300 Latin-
 families, 400 Latavians, or Lombards, the Adigones, the Marcomanni,
 and various other Aquas, or Saxons, 10,000 men, who should be
 a sort of reserve. See: Hill, vol. 1. lib. 1.

† Zosimus, vol. 1. lib. 1. p. 126, has asserted that interesting
 circumstance. M. de la Harpe, in his Voyage, Vol. 1. lib. 1. p. 126, who
 accompanied Julian, as one of the most famous, describes this
 bridge as a fixed, not portable structure, challenges Trepietius
 and the Adigones of Geneva, &c.

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ROMAN EMPIRE. than mortal speed at the head of the innumerable
 forces of the West. Lucilian, who, with the
 rank of general of the cavalry, commanded the
 military powers of Illyricum, was alarmed and
 perplexed by the doubtful reports, which he
 could neither reject nor believe. He had taken
 some slow and irresolute measures for the purpose
 of collecting his troops, when he was surprised
 by Dagalaiphus, an active officer, whom Julian,
 as soon as he landed at Bononia, had pushed
 forwards with some light infantry. The captive
 general, uncertain of his life or death, was hastily
 thrown upon a horse, and conducted to the pre-
 sence of Julian: who kindly raised him from the
 ground, and dispelled the terror and amazement
 which seemed to stupify his faculties. But Lu-
 cilian had no sooner recovered his spirits, than he
 betrayed his want of discretion, by presuming
 to admonish his conqueror, that he had rashly
 ventured, with a handful of men, to expose his
 person in the midst of his enemies. "Reserve
 "for your master Constantius these timid remon-
 "strances," replied Julian, with a smile of con-
 tempt: "when I gave you my people to kiss,
 "I received you not as a counsellor, but as a
 "suppliant." Conscious that success alone could
 justify his attempt, and that boldness only could
 command success, he instantly advanced, at the
 head of three thousand soldiers, to attack the
 strongest and most populous city of the Illyrian
 provinces. As he entered the long suburb of
 Sirmium, he was received by the joyful accla-
 mations of the army and people: who, crowded

with flowers, and holding lighted tapers in their hands, conducted their acknowledged sovereign to his imperial residence. Two days were devoted to the public joy, which was celebrated by the games of the circus; but, early on the morning of the third day, Julian marched to occupy the narrow pass of Sucri, in the defiles of Mount Hæmus: which, almost in the mid-way between Sirmium and Constantinople, separates the provinces of Thrace and Dacia, by an abrupt descent towards the former, and a gentle declivity on the side of the latter.* The defence of this important post was intrusted to the brave Nevitta; who, as well as the generals of the Italian division, successfully executed the plan of the march and junction which their master had so ably conceived.

The homage which Julian obtained, from the fears or the inclination of the people, extended far beyond the immediate effect of his arms." The prefectures of Italy and Illyricum were administered by Taurus and Florentius, who united that important office with the vain honours of the consulship; and as those magistrates had retired

He justifies his cause.

* The description of Arminius, which might be supported by collateral evidence, determines the precise situation of the *Agrippæ Decursus*, or *passus of Sucri*. M. d'Arvile, from the trifling remains of names, has placed them between Sordani and Sirmium: for my own justification, I am obliged to mention the only error which I have discovered in the maps or writings of that admirable geographer.

† Whichever translation we may favour elsewhere, *Arminius* and *Ubi*, v. 9, 10, still supply the defect of the narrative.

‡ *Arminius*, xvi. 8; 10. *Epitome*, *Arg. Ptolem.* c. 24, p. 219, 220. *Strabo*, l. vi. p. 126, 127.

CHAP. with precipitation to the court of Asia; Julian, XXII.
 who could not always restrain the levity of his temper, stigmatized their flight by adding, in all the acts of the year, the epithet of *fugitive* to the names of the two consuls. The provinces which had been deserted by their first magistrates acknowledged the authority of an emperor, who, conciliating the qualities of a soldier with those of a philosopher, was equally admired in the camps of the Danube, and in the cities of Greece. From his palace, or, more properly, from his head-quarters of Sirmium and Naissus, he distributed to the principal cities of the empire, a laudated apology for his own conduct; published the secret despatches of Constantius; and solicited the judgment of mankind between two competitors, the one of whom had expelled, and the other had invited, the barbarians.* Julian, whose mind was deeply wounded by the reproach of ingratitude, aspired to maintain, by argument as well as by arms, the superior merits of his cause; and to excel, not only in the arts of war, but in those of composition. His epistle to the senate and people of Athens† seems to have been

* Julian was a. D. 362. Athen. p. 220. expressly asserts, that he outstepped the limits of Constantius to the barbarians; and Libanius is positively assured, that he sent them on his march to the Danube and the Rhine. Yet Ammianus (lib. 16) expresses himself with great and useful hesitation; *et fuisse vellet identidem et falsis*. He speaks, however, and disapproves before Lord Vellamo to Constantius, which supposes an intimate correspondence between them; a circumstance altogether inconsistent.

† *Epistola* addressed to the senate of the Athenians, the Corinthians, and the Laodiceans. The publication was probably in

dictated by an elegant enthusiasm, which prompted him to submit his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the same humble deference, as if he had been pleading in the days of Aristotle, before the tribunal of the Areopagus. His application to the senate of Rome, which was still permitted to bestow the titles of imperial power, was agreeable to the forms of the expiring republic. An assembly was summoned by Tetricus, prefect of the city: the epistle of Julian was read; and as he appeared to be master of Italy, his claims were admitted without a dissenting voice. His oblique censure of the innovations of Constantine, and his passionate invective against the vices of Constantius, were heard with less satisfaction; and the senate, as if Julian had been present, unanimously exclaimed,—“Respect, we beseech you, the author” of your own fortune;—an useful expression, which, according to the chance of war, might be differently explained: as a manly reproof of the ingratitude of the usurper, or as a flattering confession, that a single act of such benefit to the state ought to atone for all the follies of Constantine.

Notes. Though the address was properly correct. The speech to the Athenians is still extant, pp. 189-191, and has attracted considerable notice. It deserves the praise of this Address to Britain. (Ferd. I. Philander de Jovian, p. 21, 22, and is one of the best specimens to be found in any language.)

It is not, for reverendness reasons. (Ferd. I. Philander de Jovian, p. 21, 22, and is one of the best specimens to be found in any language.)

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XXII.

Domitian
prophetic
dreams.

The intelligence of the march and rapid progress of Julian was speedily transmitted to his rival, who, by the retreat of Sapor, had obtained some respite from the Persian war. Disguising the anguish of his soul under the semblance of contempt, Constantius professed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving place to Julian; for he never spoke of this military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party.⁴ In the camp of Hierapolis, in Syria, he communicated this design to his army; slightly mentioned the guilt and rashness of the Cæsar; and ventured to assure them, that if the mutineers of Gaul presumed to meet them in the field, they would be unable to sustain the fire of their eyes, and the irresistible weight of their shout of onset. The speech of the emperor was received with military applause, and Theodotus, the president of the council of Hierapolis, requested, with tears of adulation, that *his* city might be adorned with the head of the vanquished rebel.⁵ A chosen detachment was despatched away in post-waggons, to secure, if it were yet possible, the pass of Surci; the recruits, the horses, the arms, and the magazines which had been prepared against Sapor, were appropriated to the service of the civil war; and the domestic

⁴ Eutropius *Historiarum prætoriarum* cæsaris lib. viii. c. 1. *Imperatoris* c. 1. *Imperatoris* c. 1. *Imperatoris* c. 1.

⁵ See the speech and propositions in *Ammonius*, vii. 15. The old Theodorus afterwards improved and obtained his pardon from the emperor, who repaid his wish of diminishing his enemies, and increasing the number of his friends, (xlii. 14).

victories of Constantius inspired his partisans with the most sanguine assurances of success. The notary Gaudentius had occupied in his name the provinces of Africa; the subsistence of Rome was intercepted; and the distress of Julian was increased, by an unexpected event, which might have been productive of fatal consequences. Julian had received the submission of two legions and a cohort of archers, who were stationed at *Sirimum*; but he suspected, with reason, the fidelity of those troops, which had been distinguished by the emperor; and it was thought expedient, under the pretence of the exposed state of the *Galle Frontier*, to disengage them from the most important scene of action. They advanced, with reluctance, as far as the confines of Italy; but as they dreaded the length of the way, and the savage fierceness of the Germans, they resolved, by the instigation of one of their tribunes, to halt at *Aquileia*, and to erect the banners of Constantius on the walls of that impregnable city. The vigilance of Julian perceived at once the extent of the mischief, and the necessity of applying an immediate remedy. By his order, *Jovinus* led back a part of the army into Italy: and the siege of *Aquileia* was formed with diligence, and prosecuted with vigour. But the legionaries, who seemed to have rejected the yoke of discipline, conducted the defence of the place with skill and perseverance; invited the rest of Italy to imitate the example of their courage and loyalty; and threatened the retreat of

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*and death
of Con-
stantine.
A. D. 307.
Nov. 2.*

Julian, if he should be forced to yield to the superior numbers of the armies of the East.*

But the humanity of Julian was preserved from the cruel alternative, which he pathetically laments, of destroying, or of being himself destroyed; and the reasonable death of Constantine delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch: and his favourites durst not oppose his impatient desire of revenge. A slight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by the agitation of his spirits, was increased by the fatigues of the journey: and Constantine was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopsaurene, twelve miles beyond Tarsus, where he expired, after a short illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.† His genuine character, which was composed of pride and weakness, of superstition and cruelty, has been fully displayed in

* Ammian. xxi. 7. 11. 12. He seems to depart, with suppressed tears, the ornaments of the eagle of Aquila, which on this occasion exhibited its imperishable form. Gregory Nazianzen. *Orat.* vi. p. 45, mentions this accidental event to the fall of Constantine, whose sacred waters he attributes with great appearance of truth—Constantine enim modico preloquio inter verbum, & imperio subito cecidit. *Am.* at the moment constantine disappeared. *Ammian.* xxi. 7.

† His mind and character are suitably delineated by Ammianus, *l. xxi. c. 12, 13, 14*; and we are authorized to dispute and detect the faulty calumny of Gregory. *Orat.* vi. p. 45, who accuses Julian of restraining the death of his brother. The private enmities of the emperor, that he had opposed and persecuted Julian, *l. vi. c. 22*, and *Orat.* vi. p. 45, is too incredible to be reconcilable with the public, varied testimony, which prudent historians have thought worthy to the last moments of his life.

The preceding narrative of civil and ecclesiastical events. The long abuse of power rendered him a considerable object in the eyes of his contemporaries; but as personal merit can alone deserve the notice of posterity, the last of the sons of Constantine may be dismissed from the world with the remark, that he inherited the defects, without the abilities, of his father. Before Constantine expired, he is said to have named Julian for his successor; nor does it seem improbable, that his anxious concern for the fate of a young and tender wife, whom he left with child, may have prevailed, in his last moments, over the harsher passions of hatred and revenge. Eusebius, and his guilty associates, made a faint attempt to prolong the reign of the eunuchs, by the election of another emperor: but their intrigues were rejected with disdain by an army which now abhorred the thought of civil discord; and two officers of rank were instantly despatched, to assure Julian, that every sword in the empire would be drawn for his service. The military designs of that prince, who had formed three different attacks against Thrace, were prevented by this fortunate event. Without shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he escaped the dangers of a doubtful conflict, and acquired the advantages of a complete victory. Impatient to visit the place of his birth, and the new capital of the empire, he advanced from Naissus through the mountains of Haemus, and the cities of Thrace. When he reached Heraclea, at the

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Julian con-
fess Com-
stantius
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Diss. II.

distance of sixty miles, all Constantinople was poured forth to receive him; and he made his triumphal entry amidst the dutiful acclamations of the soldiers, the people, and the senate. An innumerable multitude pressed around him with eager respect, and were perhaps disappointed, when they beheld the small stature, and simple garb of a hero, whose unexperienced youth had vanquished the barbarians of Germany, and who had now traversed, in a successful career, the whole continent of Europe, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Bosphorus.* A few days afterwards, when the remains of the deceased emperor were landed in the harbour, the subjects of Julian applauded the real or affected humanity of their sovereign. On foot, without his diadem, and clothed in a mourning habit, he accompanied the funeral as far as the church of the Holy Apostles, where the body was deposited: and if these marks of respect may be interpreted as a selfish tribute to the birth and dignity of his imperial kinsman, the tears of Julian professed to the world, that he had forgot the injuries, and remembered only the obligations which he had received from Constantius.† As soon as the

* In describing the triumph of Julian, Ammianus (xxii. 3, 4) assumes the left hand of the victor (or poet) while Lactantius (*Inst. Divin.* c. 16, p. 111) sticks to the gross simplicity of an historian.

† The figure of Constantius is described by Ammianus, (xxv. 16); Gregory Nazianzen, (*Orat.* iv. p. 116); Maximinus, (*in Pagg.* Vol. vi. 371); Libanius, (*Orat. Funeb.* c. vii. p. 123), and Chalcidius, (l. vi. c. 8. 1078) Gualter's *Dissertationes*, p. 293. These writers, and their followers, depicted Constantius, Arrian, beheld with very different eyes both the dead and the living emperor.

legions of Aquileia were assured of the death of the emperor, they opened the gates of the city, and, by the sacrifice of their guilty leaders, obtained an easy pardon from the prudence or lenity of Julian; who, in the thirty-second year of his age, acquired the undisputed possession of the Roman empire.¹

Philosophy had instructed Julian to compare the advantages of action and retirement; but the elevation of his birth, and the accidents of his life, never allowed him the freedom of choice. He might perhaps sincerely have preferred the groves of the academy, and the society of Athens; but he was constrained, at first by the will, and afterwards by the injustice of Constantine, to expose his person and fame to the dangers of imperial greatness; and to make himself accountable to the world, and to posterity, for the happiness of millions.² Julian recollected with terror the observations of his master Plato,³ that the government of our flocks and herds is always

¹ The day and year of the death of Julian are not precisely ascertained. The day is probably the sixth of November, and the year must be either 361 or 363. Tillemont, *Des des Augustins*, tom. iv. p. 221. Dümig, *Fest. Nymette* p. 56. I have preferred the earlier date.

² Julian himself (in 113-117) has exposed these philosophical ideas with much eloquence, and some allusion, in a very early, but equal to Themistius. The *Abel de la Rhénie*, tom. 2, p. 144-145, who has given an elegant translation, is inclined to believe that it was the celebrated Themistius, whose orations are still extant.

³ Julian and Themist. p. 198. Porphyrius (tom. 2, p. 92) observes, that this passage is taken from the fourth book of *Epistémus*; but either Julian quoted from memory, or his MSS. were different from ours. Xenophon opens the *Cyropædia* with a similar reference.

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committed to beings of a superior species; and that the conduct of nations requires and deserves the celestial powers of the gods or of the genii. From this principle he justly concluded, that the man who presumes to reign, should aspire to the perfection of the divine nature; that he should purify his soul from her mortal and terrestrial part; that he should extinguish his appetites, enlighten his understanding, regulate his passions, and subdue the wild beast, which, according to the lively metaphor of Aristotle,* seldom fails to ascend the throne of a despot. The throne of Julian, which the death of Constantine fixed on an independent basis, was the seat of reason, of virtue, and perhaps of vanity. He despised the honours, renounced the pleasures, and discharged with incessant diligence the duties of his exalted station; and there were few among his subjects who would have consented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to submit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their philosophic emperor imposed on himself. One of his most intimate friends,† who had often shared the frugal simplicity of his table, has remarked, that his light and sparing diet (which was usually of

* O. *de rebus animæ agens, moderat, et regit.* *Aristot. de Julian.* p. 244. The MS. of Vossius commented with a single sentence, affords the strongest evidence of *tyranny*, which the reputation of despotism may warrant.

† *Villemotus* (*Orat. Eusebiana*, c. *tristis*, *liber*, p. 310, 311, 312) has given this interesting detail of the private life of Julian. He himself (*de Magnifico*, p. 310) mentions his vegetable diet, and upbraids the gross and sensual appetite of the people of Antioch.

the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active for the various and important business of an author, a pontiff, a magistrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the same day, he gave audience to several ambassadors, and wrote, or dictated, a great number of letters to his generals, his civil magistrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He listened to the memorials which had been received, considered the subject of the petitions, and signified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in short-hand by the diligence of his secretaries. He possessed such flexibility of thought, and such firmness of attention, that he could employ his hand to write, his ear to listen, and his voice to dictate: and pursue at once three several trains of ideas, without hesitation, and without error. While his ministers reposed, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another, and, after a hasty dinner, retired into his library, till the public business, which he had appointed for the evening, summoned him to interrupt the prosecution of his studies. The supper of the emperor was still less substantial than the former meal: his sleep was never clouded by the fumes of indigestion: and, except in the short interval of a marriage, which was the effect of policy rather than love, the chaste Julian never shared his bed with a female companion.^d He was soon awakened by the

^d Tacitus Vespasian took notice of the pains which Domitian (Flavins) Vol. 21. 113 addressed to Julian himself.
Liberius

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[continued]

entrance of fresh secretaries, who had slept the preceding day; and his servants were obliged to wait alternately, while their indefatigable master allowed himself scarcely any other refreshment than the change of occupations. The predecessors of Julian, his uncle, his brother, and his cousin, indulged their puerile taste for the games of the Circus, under the specious pretence of complying with the inclinations of the people; and they frequently remained the greatest part of the day, as idle spectators, and as a part of the splendid spectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races* was completely finished. On solemn festivals, Julian, who felt and professed an unfashionable dislike to these frivolous amusements, condescended to appear in the Circus: and after bestowing a careless glance on five or six of the races, he hastily withdrew, with the impatience of a philosopher, who considered every moment

Lactantius affirmed, in sober perspicuous language, that Julian never knew a woman before his marriage, or after the death of his wife, (*Inst. Divin. v. lxxxviii.* p. 513). The character of Julian is confirmed by the impartial testimony of Ammianus, (*xvii.* 4), and the partial assent of the Christians. Yet Julian ironically urges the reproach of the people of Antioch, that he almost always lay covered in Mithraism, (*vi.* 24) by alone. This emphatic expression is explained by the *Abbe de la Motte* (*Hist. de Julien*, tom. ii. p. 155-169) with candour and ingenuity.

* See *Supplement ad Frontin. in Claud. c. xxi.* A twenty-fifth race, or more, was added, to complete the number of one hundred chariots, four of which, the four courses, started each hour.

Constant quatuorages agendo ad singulos cursus.

It appears, that they ran five or seven times round the *Mura*, (*Comment. in Domitian. v. 4*); and (from the measure of the Circus Maximus at Rome, the Hippodrome at Constantinople, &c.) it might be about a four mile course.

as lost, that was not devoted to the advantage of CHAP.
the public, or the improvement of his own XXII.
mind.* By this avarice of time, he seemed to
protract the short duration of his reign; and if
the dates were less securely ascertained, we should
refuse to believe, that only sixteen months elapsed
between the death of Constantius and the depart-
ure of his successor for the Persian war. The December,
actions of Julian can only be preserved by the A. D. 361.
care of the historian; but the portion of his volu-
minous writings, which is still extant, remains
as a monument of the application, as well as of
the genius, of the emperor. The *Misopogon*,
the *Cæsars*, several of his orations, and his elab-
orate work against the Christian religion, were
composed in the long nights of the two winters,
the former of which he passed at Constantinople,
and the latter at Antioch.

The reformation of the imperial court was Reforma-
one of the first and most necessary acts of the tion of the
government of Julian.[†] Soon after his entrance palace.
into the palace of Constantinople, he had oc-
casion for the service of a barber. An officer,
magnificently dressed, immediately presented him-
self. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince,

* *Julian, in Misopogon, p. 280.* Julian seems to have attended the Roman people by reading his despatches during the interval. Augustus indulged their taste, at his own, by his constant attention to the important business of the Circus, he which he professed the highest estimation. *Strabo, in August. c. 41.*

† The reformation of the palace is described by Ammianus, (xlii. c. 12); Socrates, (*Hist. Eccl. Orient. Persecut. c. 30*); Sozomenus, (*in Paganis, Vol. iii. c. 11*); Theodoret, (*C. vi. c. 13*), and Zosimus, (*Hist. n. l. c. 11*); p. 24.

surpassed the expense of the legions; yet the smallest part of this costly multitude was subservient to the war, or even to the splendour of the throne. The monarch was disgraced, and the people was injured, by the creation and sale of an infinite number of obscure, and even titular employments; and the most worthless of mankind might purchase the privilege of being maintained, without the necessity of labour, from the public revenue. The waste of an enormous household, the increase of fees and perquisites, which were soon claimed as a lawful debt, and the bribes which they extorted from those who feared their vanity, or solicited their favour, suddenly enriched these haughty menials. They abused their fortune, without considering their past, or their future, condition: and their rapine and voracity could be equalled only by the extravagance of their dissipations. Their silken robes were embroidered with gold; their tables were served with delicacy and profusion; the houses which they built for their own use, would have covered the face of an ancient comit; and the most honourable citizens were obliged to dismount from their horses, and respectfully to salute an eunuch whom they met on the public highway. The luxury of the palace excited the contempt and indignation of Julian, who usually slept on the ground: who yielded with reluctance

Родина: Украина. Местонахождение: Крым, Севастополь, окрестности города. Растет на скалах, в расщелинах, в горах. Растет в одиночку или небольшими группами. Цветет в мае-июне. Высота до 10 см. Листья до 5 см. Цветы до 1 см. Растет на скалах, в расщелинах, в горах. Растет в одиночку или небольшими группами. Цветет в мае-июне. Высота до 10 см. Листья до 5 см. Цветы до 1 см.

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to the indispensable calls of nature: and who placed his vanity, not in emulating, but in despising the pomp of royalty. By the total extinction of a mischief which was magnified even beyond its real extent, he was impatient to relieve the distress, and to appease the murmurs, of the people: who support with less uneasiness the weight of taxes, if they are convinced that the fruits of their industry are appropriated to the service of the state. But in the execution of this salutary work, Julian is accused of proceeding with too much haste and inconsiderate severity. By a single edict, he reduced the palace of Constantinople to an immense desert, and dismissed with ignominy the whole train of slaves and dependants,¹ without providing any just, or at least benevolent, exceptions for the age, the services, or the poverty, of the faithful domestics of the imperial family. Such, indeed, was the temper of Julian, who seldom recollected the fundamental maxim of Aristotle, that true virtue is placed at an equal distance between the opposite vices. The splendid and effeminate dress of the Asiatics, the curls and paint, the collars and bracelets, which had appeared so ridiculous in the person of Constantine, were consistently rejected by his philosophic successor.

¹ Yet Julian himself was accused of bestowing whole towns on the eunuchs (Jov. *vita* against *Polyd.* p. 117-117). Julianus identifies himself with a mild but positive denial of the fact, which seems limited to bestowing some property on Constantine. The charge, however, may allude to some unknown circumstances.

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But with the sopperies, Julian affected to renounce the decencies, of dress; and seemed to value himself for his neglect of the laws of cleanliness. In a satirical performance, which was designed for the public eye, the emperor descants with pleasure, and even with pride, on the length of his nails, and the lily blackness of his hands; protests, that although the greatest part of his body was covered with hair, the use of the razor was confined to his head alone; and celebrates, with visible complacency, the shaggy and *populous* beard, which he fondly cherished, after the example of the philosophers of Greece. Had Julian consulted the simple dictates of reason, the first magistrate of the Romans would have scorned the affectation of Diogenes, as well as that of Darius.

But the work of public reformation would have remained imperfect, if Julian had only corrected the abuses, without punishing the crimes, of his predecessor's reign.—“We are now delivered,” says he, in a familiar letter to one of his intimate friends, “we are now surprisingly delivered from the voracious jaws of the

* In the *Mitropagan*, pp. 328, 329, he draws a very singular picture of himself, and the following words are strongly characteristic.—*apud quosdam res doli sunt, regnum . . . a regno ex hinc, res regum res doli sunt in regno res doli sunt.* The friends of the Alod de la Bastille adopted him, in the name of the French nation, and to terminate this progress, he withdrew to their gallery, (*Had de Julien*, tom. ii, p. 24). Little him, I have contrasted myself with a thousand others; but the little animal, which Julian names, is a thing familiar to many, and signifies less.

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“Hydus.” I do not mean to apply that epithet
 “to my brother Constantine. He is no more;
 “neither the earth lie light on his head! But his
 “artful and crafty favourites studied to deceive
 “and exasperate a prince, whose natural mild-
 “ness cannot be praised without some efforts
 “of adulation. It is not, however, my intention,
 “that even those men should be oppressed: they
 “are accused, and they shall enjoy the benefit
 “of a fair and impartial trial.” To conduct
 this inquiry, Julian named six judges of the
 highest rank in the state and army: and as he
 wished to escape the reproach of condemning his
 personal enemies, he fixed this extraordinary
 tribunal at Chalcedon, on the Asiatic side of the
 Bosphorus; and transferred to the commissioners
 an absolute power to pronounce and execute
 their final sentence, without delay, and without
 appeal. The office of president was exercised
 by the venerable prefect of the East, a *second*
Sallust,* whose virtues conciliated the esteem of
 Greek sophists, and of Christian bishops. He

* Julian *epist. adim.* p. 394. He was the same celebrated *Agapetus* writing to the Great Hieronymus, who, like himself, was conversant with the Greek poets.

* The best judges, the prefect of Gaul and the prefect of the East, must be exactly distinguished, *Hist. des Consulaires*, tom. iv. p. 486. I have used the surname of *Sallust*, as a conventional epithet. The second *Sallust* carried the names of the Christians themselves, and *Gregory Nazianzen*, who condemned his religion, has celebrated his virtues, *Hist.* iv. p. 99. See a curious note of the *Abbe de la Riviere*, *Vie de Julien*, p. 376.

was assisted by the eloquent Mamertinus,¹ one of the consuls elect, whose merit is loudly celebrated by the doubtful evidence of his own applause. But the civil wisdom of two magistrates was overbalanced by the ferocious violence of four generals, Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbeto. Arbeto, whom the public would have seen with less surprise at the bar than on the bench, was supposed to possess the secret of the commission; the armed and angry leaders of the Jovian and Hercullan bands encompassed the tribunal; and the judges were alternately swayed by the laws of justice, and by the clamours of faction.²

The chamberlain Eusebius, who had so long abused the favour of Constantius, expiated, by an ignominious death, the insolence, the corruption, and cruelty of his servile reign. The executions of Paul and Apodemius (the former of whom was burnt alive) were accepted as an inadequate atonement by the widows and orphans of so many hundred Romans, whom those legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. But justice herself (if we may use the pathetic expression of Ammianus³) appeared to weep over the fate

Probably
guilt of
the tyrant
and
the guilty.

¹ Mamertinus joins the authors (xvi. 1) in blaming the actors of violence and passion as a man of wisdom, temperance, integrity, &c. like himself. Vid. Ammianus marks him (xvi. 1) among the conspirators of Julian, governing *maius auctoritate* at Elona.

² The proceedings of this tribunal of justice are related by Ammianus, (xvi. 24), and proved by Libanius, *Orat. Paganus* c. 74, p. 125, 200).

³ Eusebius even weeps upon this bloody false justice. Libanius, who supposes his death to be useless, attempts to atone for the deed of the tyrant.

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of Ursinus, the treasurer of the empire; and his blood atoned the ingratitude of Julian, whose distress had been reasonably relieved by the intrepid liberality of that honest minister. The rage of the soldiers, whom he had provoked by his indifferenc^e, was the cause and the excuse of his death; and the emperor, deeply wounded by his own reproaches and those of the public, offered some consolation to the family of Ursinus, by the restitution of his confiscated fortunes. Before the end of the year in which they had been adorned with the ensigns of the prefecture and consulship,* Taurus and Florentius were reduced to implore the clemency of the inexorable tribunal of Chalcedon. The former was banished to Verucula in Italy, and a sentence of death was pronounced against the latter. A wise prince should have rewarded the crime of Taurus: the faithful minister, when he was no longer able to oppose the progress of a rebel, had taken refuge in the court of his benefactor and his lawful sovereign. But the guilt of Florentius justified the severity of the judges; and his escape served to display the magnanimity of Julian; who nobly checked the interested diligence of an informer, and refused to learn what place concealed the wretched fugitive from his

* Such report was still entertained for the venetian names of the commonwealth, that the public was surprised and scandalized to hear Taurus continued as a criminal under the countenance of Taurus. The sentence of his colleague Florentius was probably delayed till the commencement of the ensuing year.

just resentment.* Some months after the tribunal of Chalcedon had been dissolved, the metropolitan clergyment of Africa, the military Gaudentius, and Arimenus[†] duke of Egypt, were executed at Antioch. Arimenus had reigned the cruel and corrupt tyrant of a great province; Gaudentius had long practised the arts of calumny against the innocent, the virtuous, and even the person of Julian himself. Yet the circumstances of their trial and condemnation were so unskillfully managed, that these wicked men obtained, in the public opinion, the glory of suffering for the obstinate loyalty with which they had supported the cause of Constantine. The rest of his servants were protected by a general act of oblivion; and they were left to enjoy with impunity the bribes which they had accepted, either to defend the oppressed, or to oppress the friendless. This measure, which, on the soundest principles of policy, may deserve our approbation, was executed in a manner which seemed to degrade the majesty of the throne. Julian was tormented by the importunities of a multitude, particularly of Egyptians, who loudly demanded the gifts which they had imprudently

* Arimenus, xi, 1.

† For the guilt and punishment of Arimenus, see *Julian*, (Epist. x. p. 117), and *Armenius*, (p. 6, and *Valer.* ad loc.). The name of Arimenus, who despoiled Egypt, and was put to death by his subjects, has troubled the Greek and Latin churches to become him as a heretic. But an examination of history shows, that he was not only a tyrant, but an Arian. It is not altogether odd to punish this political proselyte. *Thomson*, *Eccl.* tom. vi. s. 1210.

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or illegally bestowed; he foresaw the endless prosecution of vexatious suits; and he engaged a promise, which ought always to have been sacred, that if they would repair to Chalcedon, he would meet them in person, to hear and determine their complaints. But as soon as they were landed, he issued an absolute order, which prohibited the watermen from transporting any Egyptian to Constantinople; and thus detained his disappointed clients on the Asiatic shore, till their patience and money being utterly exhausted, they were obliged to return with indignant murmurs to their native country.*

*Clemency
of Julian.*

The numerous army of spies, of agents, and informers, enlisted by Constantine to secure the repose of one man, and to interrupt that of millions, was immediately disbanded by his generous successor. Julian was slow in his anger, and gentle in his punishments; and his contempt of treason was the result of judgment, of vanity, and of courage. Conscience of superior merit, he was persuaded that few among his subjects would dare to meet him in the field, to attempt his life, or even to seat themselves on his vacant throne. The philosopher could excuse the hasty sallies of discontent; and the hero could despise the ambitious projects which surpassed the fortune or the abilities of the rash conspirators. A citizen of Ancyra had prepared for his own use

* See *Ammon.* xiii. 4, and *Valer. Ad. Iulian.* and the *Eccl. Theophrastus* l. ii. 16. 2214; leg. 1; and *Constantine's Constitutions*, tom. i. p. 218, et *passim*.

a purple garment; and this indiscreet action, CHAP.
 which, under the reign of Constantine, would XXXI.
 have been considered as a capital offence,* was
 reported to Julian by the officious importunity
 of a private enemy. The monarch, after mak-
 ing some inquiry into the rank and character of
 his rival, despatched the informer with a present
 of a pair of purple slippers, to complete the
 magnificence of his imperial habit. A more
 dangerous conspiracy was formed by ten of the
 domestic guards, who had resolved to assassinate
 Julian in the field of exercise near Antioch.
 Their intemperance revealed their guilt; and
 they were conducted in chains to the presence of
 their injured sovereign, who, after a lively re-
 presentation of the wickedness and folly of their
 enterprise, instead of a death or torture, which
 they deserved and expected, pronounced a sen-
 tence of exile against the two principal offenders.
 The only instance in which Julian seemed to
 depart from his accustomed clemency, was the
 execution of a rash youth, who, with a feeble hand,
 had aspired to seize the reins of empire. But
 that youth was the son of Marcellus, the general
 of cavalry, who, in the first campaign of the

* The present Manuscript (Constantine our of Goodness, his son Marcellus, c. viii. in his works, tom. ii. p. 418. 449) evinces this minute and almost trivial, by supposing, and among the most indifferent in our sight evils, in a Roman house, the idea of guilt and danger. This strange apology, is supported by a strange misapprehension of the English idiom. — "What were our
 " thus . . . all these should be more &c. more of our . . .
 " justice."

disbanded: but he absolutely used the title of CHAP.
XXII
Dominus or *Lord*:^a a word which was grown so familiar to the ears of the Romans, that they no longer remembered its servile and humiliating origin. The office, or rather the name, of consul, was cherished by a prince who contemplated with reverence the ruins of the republic: and the same behaviour which had been assumed by the prudence of Augustus, was adopted by Julius from choice and inclination. On the calends of ACT. 925.
Jan. 1.
January, at break of day, the new consuls, Mamerctus and Nevitta, hastened to the palace to salute the emperor. As soon as he was informed of their approach, he leaped from his throne, eagerly advanced to meet them, and compelled the blushing magistrates to receive the demonstrations of his affected humility. From the palace they proceeded to the senate. The emperor, on foot, marched before their litters; and the gazing multitude admired the image of ancient times, or secretly blamed a conduct, which, in their eyes, degraded the majesty of the

^a Tacitus, *Oratio Plinii*, c. 96, p. 286, who mentions the title and design of Julius, indicated by numerous passages that are given in the *Life of Augustus*. That the emperor was distinguished by some particular appellation.

^b Julius in *Macrobii*, p. 283. As he never assumed, in any public act, the proud appellation of *Augustus*, or *Divus*, that we still retain in his modest *Monuments*, *Facile* *Memoria*, p. 28, 281; and the private supplication which he affected to express himself a subject even to the senate of the empire. The title *deus* is likewise used, in *Augustus*, lib. 2, p. 99-100; but certainly from the usage, and progress, of the word *Divus*, which was the legal designation.

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purple.* But the behaviour of Julian was uniformly supported. During the games of the Circus, he had, imprudently or designally, performed the manumission of a slave in the presence of the consul. The moment he was reminded that he had trespassed on the jurisdiction of another magistrate, he condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds of gold; and embayed this public occasion of declaring to the world, that he was subject, like the rest of his fellow-citizens, to the laws,† and even to the forms of the republic. The spirit of his administration, and his regard for the place of his nativity, induced Julian to confer on the senate of Constantinople, the same honours, privileges, and authority, which were still enjoyed by the senate of ancient Rome.‡ A legal fiction was introduced, and gradually established, that one half of the national council had migrated into the East: and the despotic successors of Julian, accepting the title of Senators, acknowledged themselves the members of a respectable body, which

* *Ammonius* viii. 2. The consul, Maximinus Cæsar, *Præposit.* Vol. vi. p. 76, has celebrated this impious day, like an elevated hero, animated and incited by the enthusiasm of his country.

† *Præfatus* rather was condemned by the laws of the lower empire.

§ It might sometimes be questioned whether, *justi* and

Julianus were —

Julian (*de Misericordia*, p. 377) was himself subject to the law; and the *Abbe de la Bèze* (*Hist. de Justin.* tom. ii. p. 225) has severely expressed a challenge as applicable to his own system, and added to the true spirit, of the imperial constitution.

‡ *Epiphanius* 2. lib. 6. l. 24.

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was permitted to represent the majesty of the Roman name. From Constantinople, the attention of the monarch was extended to the municipal senates of the provinces. He abolished, by repeated edicts, the unjust and pernicious exemptions, which had withdrawn so many idle citizens from the service of their country; and, by imposing an equal distribution of public duties, he restored the strength, the splendour, or, according to the glowing expression of *Lilius*,² the soul of the expiring circles of his empire. The venerable age of *Gracian* excited the most tender compassion in the mind of *Julian*: which kindled into rapture when he recollected the gods, the heroes, and the men superior to heroes and to gods, who had bequeathed to the latest posterity the monuments of their genius, or the example of their virtues. He relieved the distress, and restored the beauty, of the cities of *Epirus* and *Peloponnesus*.³ Athens acknowledged him for her benefactor; Argos, for her deliverer. The pride of *Corinth*, again rising from her ruins with the honours of a Ro-

History
of the
Grecian
Empire.

² *Et tunc Lilius ergo deus videtur esse.* See *Lilius*, *Orat. Procul.* c. 71. p. 290; *Ammonius*, *lib. 9*; and the *Thesaurus* *Cod. de off. et l. imp.* 30-31, with *Glossary's* Commentary, *Interrog. Phil. 102*. Yet the whole subject of the *Ceræ*, notwithstanding every superstitious, still remains the most obscure in the legal history of the empire.

³ *Quæ publicæ sunt velle et non subditiis tractare, et cetera periculis, insidiis, moribus, Fera, Demetriades, Gymnasia, regis et gubernationis, populis frequentibus esse fluxum et refluxum, ut videtur, et cetera, in huncmodi principis amicitia, (Maurer, *et. 21*.) He particularly restored the city of *Nicomedia*, and the *Asian* games, which had been instituted by *Augustus*.*

CHAP.

XXI

CONTINUATION

monedung, exacted a tribute from the adjacent republics, for the purpose of defraying the games of the isthmus, which were celebrated in the amphitheatre with the hunting of bears and panthers. From this tribute the cities of Elis, of Delphi, and of Argos, which had inherited from their remote ancestors the sacred office of perpetuating the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Nemean games, claimed a just exemption. The immunity of Elis and Delphi was respected by the Corinthians; but the poverty of Argos tempted the insolence of oppression; and the feeble complaints of its deputies were silenced by the decree of a provincial magistrate, who seems to have consulted only the interest of the capital in which he resided. Seven years after this sentence, Julian^a allowed the cause to be referred to a superior tribunal; and his eloquence was interposed, most probably with success, in the defence of a city, which had been the royal seat of Agamemnon,^b and had given to Macedonia a race of kings and conquerors.^c

^a Julian, *Epist.* 1111, p. 407-411. This epistle, which flourishes the declining age of Greece, is written in the style of Isocrates, and is happily supported by the Latin translation, who by rendering *arista*, *bellum*, and *clava*, instead of *clava*, concludes the sense of the original.

^b He resided in Mycenæ, in the distance of fifty stadia, or six miles, from Argos; but those cities which immediately surrounded, are comprehended by the Great port. Strabo, l. viii. p. 479, 480. Annot. 1302.

^c Macedonia, *Geogr. Chion.* p. 411. This province from Thracians and Macedonians may be sometimes a year or two distant, when a wide equity by the judges of the Olympic games, *Classica* l. v.

The laborious administration of military and civil affairs, which were multiplied in proportion to the extent of the empire, exhausted the abilities of Julian; but he frequently assumed the two characters of orator and of judge, which are almost unknown to the modern sovereigns of Europe. The arts of persuasion, so diligently cultivated by the first Cæsars, were neglected by the military ignorance and Asiatic pride of their successors; and if they condescended to harangue the soldiers, whom they feared, they treated with silent disdain the senators, whom they despised. The assemblies of the senate, which Constantine had avoided, were considered by Julian as the place where he could exhibit, with the most propriety, the maxims of a republican.

17. It is at a time when the Maximian troops were absent and engaged in Britain. When the Arminian troops returned against Philip, it was thought prudent that the disposal of Armin should remain (T. Liv. viii. 12).

His eloquence is celebrated by Libanius (Orat. Peror. 2. 13, 14, p. 283, 284), who distinctly mentions his praise of Maximian. Grotius (l. vi.) is it has lately asserted that Julian was the only person, since Julius Cæsar, who harangued the senate. All the predecessors of Justin (Orat. Anton. 12, 13, and many of his grammars) possessed the faculty of speaking in public; and it might be proved, by various examples, that they frequently resorted to the senate.

Ammonius Orat. 12. has especially lauded the modest and dignified and judicial proceedings. Libanius (Orat. Peror. 2. 13, 14, p. 283) has not only the first rule, and has justice, if it follows the justice, expressed at least the duties of the judge. Grotius (Orat. 12, p. 283), who supersedes the virtues, and exaggerates the virtues, of the emperor. Unhappily still. Whether such a judge will be to be united between these and Maximianus is the question to be asked.

CHAP. and the talents of a rhetorician. He alternately
 XXII. practised, as in a school of declamation, the several modes of praise, of censure, of exhortation; and his friend Libanius has remarked, that the study of Homer taught him to imitate the simple concise style of Menelaus, the copiousness of Nestor, whose words descended, like the flakes of a winter's snow, or the pathetic and forcible eloquence of Ulysses. The functions of a judge, which are sometimes incompatible with those of a prince, were exercised by Julian, not only as a duty, but as an amusement; and although he might have trusted the integrity and discernment of his praetorian prefects, he often placed himself by their side on the seat of judgment. The acute penetration of his mind was agreeably occupied in detecting and defeating the chicanery of the advocates, who laboured to disguise the truth of facts, and to pervert the sense of the laws. He sometimes forgot the gravity of his station, asked indiscreet or unseasonable questions, and betrayed, by the loudness of his voice, and the agitation of his body, the earnest vehemence with which he maintained his opinion against the judges, the advocates, and their clients. But his knowledge of his own temper prompted him to encourage, and even to solicit, the reproof of his friends and ministers; and whenever they ventured to oppose the irregular sallies of his passions, the spectators could observe the shame, as well as the gratitude, of their monarch. The decrees of Julian were almost always founded on

the principles of justice; and he had the firmness to resist the two most dangerous temptations, which assailed the spleen of a sovereign, under the specious darts of compassion and equity. He despised the insinuations of the cause without weighing the circumstances of the parties; and the poor, whom he wished to relieve, were condemned to satisfy the just demands of a noble and wealthy adversary. He carefully distinguished the judge from the legislator; and though he meditated a necessary reformation of the Roman jurisprudence, he pronounced sentences according to the strict and literal interpretation of those laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute, and the subjects to obey.

The generality of robes, if they were stripped the robe of their purple, and cast naked into the world, would immediately sink to the lowest rank of society, without a hope of emerging from their obscurity. But the personal merit of Julian was, in some measure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life, by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intense application, he would have obtained, or at least

* At the time which Julian reached to a ripe of sixteen months old, his father had been admitted into the order of Theodosius and Justinian, (see the Greek Chron. Euseb., p. 84-85). The *Alia* and *Alia* (see the *Alia* in p. 228-230) has shown some of these signs to give us the of Julian's Latin style, which is perfect and elegant, but has more than his Greek.

CHAP. he would have deserved, the highest honours of
XIII.
his profession; and Julian might have raised himself to the rank of minister, or general, of the state in which he was born a private citizen. If the jealous caprice of power had disappointed his expectations; if he had prudently declined the paths of greatness, the employment of the same talents in studious solitude, would have placed, beyond the reach of kings, his present happiness and his immortal fame. When we inspect, with minute, or perhaps malevolent attention, the portrait of Julian, something seems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure. His genius was less powerful and sublime than that of Cæsar; nor did he possess the consummate prudence of Augustus. The virtues of Trajan appear more steady and natural, and the philosophy of Marcus is more simple and consistent. Yet Julian sustained adversity with firmness, and prosperity with moderation. After an interval of one hundred and twenty years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans beheld an emperor who made no distinction between his duties and his pleasures; who laboured to relieve the distress, and to revive the spirit, of his subjects; and who endeavoured always to connect authority with merit, and happiness with virtue. Even faction, and religious faction, was constrained to acknowledge the superiority of his genius, in peace as well as in war: and to confess, with a sigh, that the apostate Julian was a

lover of his country, and that he deserved the
 empire of the world.²

CHAP.
 XXII

* ———— *Deus locum hunc* ————

Contra de legibus (quodammodo) non est deus

Contra de legibus (quodammodo) non est deus

Religione (quodammodo) non est deus

Proinde deus, et non est deus

Proinde deus, et non est deus

The monument of a great and virtuous man, by which (and the
 Christian and other his good qualities).

CHAP. XXIII.

The religion of Julian—Universal toleration—His attempts to restore and reform the pagan worship—to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem—His useful persecution of the Christians—Mutual good and injury.

CHAP.
XXIII.

*Religion
of Julian.*

THE character of Apostate has injured the reputation of Julian: and the enthusiasm which clouded his virtues, has exaggerated the real and apparent magnitude of his faults. Our partial ignorance may represent him as a philosophic monarch, who studied to protect, with an equal hand, the religious factions of the empire; and to allay the theological fever which had inflamed the minds of the people, from the edicts of Diocletian to the exile of Athanasius. A more accurate view of the character and conduct of Julian, will remove this favourable prepossession for a prince who did not escape the general contagion of the times. We enjoy the singular advantage of comparing the pictures which have been delineated by his fondest admirers, and his implacable enemies. The actions of Julian are faithfully related by a judicious and candid historian, the impartial spectator of his life and death. The unanimous evidence of his contemporaries is confirmed by the public and private declarations of the emperor himself: and his

the education not of a hero but of a saint. The emperor, less jealous of a heavenly, than of an earthly crown, contented himself with the imperfect character of a catechumen, while he bestowed the advantages of baptism on the nephews of Constantine.¹ They were even admitted to the inferior offices of the ecclesiastical order; and Julian publicly read the Holy Scriptures in the church of Nicomedia. The study of religion, which they assiduously cultivated, appeared to produce the fairest fruits of faith and devotion.² They prayed, they fasted, they distributed alms to the poor, gifts to the clergy, and oblations to the tombs of the martyrs, and the splendid monument of St. Mamas, at Caesarea, was erected, or at least was undertaken, by the joint labour of Gallus and Julian.³ They respectfully conversed with the bishops who were eminent for superior sanctity, and solicited the benediction of the monks and hermits, who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hard-

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XXIII.
continued.

¹ *Greg. Naz. vi. p. 78.* He laboured to prove that they were in the blood, perhaps of a Tetrarchian. *Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 311, N. 3, 4.*

² *Julian himself (Epist. ii. p. 424) avows the Alexandrian that he had been a catechumen the most ardent, a catechumen till the twentieth year of his age.*

³ See his *Epistles*, and even ecclesiastical relations, to Theophrastus, (iii. p. 391) *Baronius*, ii. 46, 47, 48, and *Sozomen*, ii. 7, 8, 9. He escaped very narrowly from being a bishop, and perhaps a saint.

⁴ The abuse of the work, which had been allowed to Gallus, was prevented with vigour and success, but the great obstinately rejected and subverted the statutes which were imposed by the ecclesiastical head of Rome. *Greg. vi. p. 59, 60, 61.* Such a period of reflection, attended by many living spectators, would form one of the clearest sources of moral and civil life.

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ships of the æsthetic life! As the two princes advanced towards the years of manhood, they discovered, in their religious sentiments, the difference of their characters. The dull and obstinate understanding of Gallus embraced, with implicit zeal, the doctrines of Christianity, which never influenced his conduct or moderated his passions. The mild disposition of the younger brother was less repugnant to the precepts of the gospel: and his active curiosity might have been gratified by a theological system which explains the mysterious essence of the Deity, and opens the boundless prospect of invisible and future worlds. But the independent spirit of Julian refused to yield the passive and unresisting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty ministers of the church. Their speculative opinions were imposed as positive laws, and guarded by the terrors of eternal punishments; but while they prescribed the rigid formulæ of the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the young prince: whilst they silenced his objections, and severely checked the freedom of his inquiries, they secretly provoked his impatient genius to disclaim the authority of his ecclesiastical guides. He was educated in the Lesser Asia, amidst the scandals of the Arian

¹ The philosopher *Strabon* (p. 106) relates the story which he tells of those military families (see *Villehardouin, Memo. Ezechiel* tom. iv. p. 361, 362), who had sworn that none in his nation were to be gentle and sentimental, whose great weakness he now says. The phrase expresses, that because they had renounced the gods, they were possessed and tormented by evil demons.

controversy.⁵ The fierce contests of the eastern bishops, the incessant alterations of their creeds, and the profane motives which appeared to actuate their conduct, insensibly strengthened the prejudice of Julian, that they neither understood nor believed the religion for which they so fiercely contended. Instead of listening to the proofs of Christianity with that favourable attention which adds weight to the most respectable evidence, he heard with suspicion, and disputed with obstinacy and acuteness the doctrines for which he already entertained an invincible aversion. Whenever the young princes were directed to compose declamations on the subject of the prevailing controversies, Julian always declared himself the advocate of paganism, under the specious excuse that, in the defence of the weaker cause, his learning and ingenuity might be more advantageously exercised and displayed.

He re-
frames the
mythology
of Pagan
ism.

As soon as Gallus was invested with the honours of the purple, Julian was permitted to breathe the air of freedom, of literature, and of paganism.⁶ The crowd of sophists, who were attracted by the taste and liberality of their royal pupil, had formed a strict alliance between the

⁵ See Julian *apud* Cyrill. l. vi. p. 208; *id.* *ibid.* p. 223, 227—
“*You persuade,*” says he, “*those sabbatists who do not think the*
“*must run precisely in the way which you approve.*” He calls
himself a *tolerant* theologian; but he maintains that the Christian
Trinity is not derived from the doctrine of Paul, *id.* *ibid.* *id.* *id.*

⁶ *Julianus, Orat. Paganus, c. 9, li. p. 722, 80.* *Greg. Nazianzenus, Orat. li. p. 61.* *Thorp. Viti. Septimian. N. G. li. p. 68, 69, 70, with Comments.*

CHAP.
XXIII.

learning and the religion of Greece; and the poems of Homer, instead of being admired as the original productions of human genius, were seriously ascribed to the heavenly inspiration of Apollo and the muses. The deities of Olympus, as they are painted by the immortal bard, imprint themselves on the minds which are the least addicted to superstitious credulity. Our familiar knowledge of their names and characters, their forms and attributes, seems to bestow on those airy beings a real and substantial existence; and the pleasing enchantment produces an imperfect and momentary assent of the imagination to those fables, which are the most repugnant to our reason and experience. In the age of Julian, every circumstance contributed to prolong and fortify the illusion: the magnificent temples of Greece and Asia: the works of those artists who had expressed, in painting or in sculpture, the divine conceptions of the poet: the pomp of festivals and sacrifices: the successful arts of divination: the popular traditions of oracles and prodigies; and the ancient practice of two thousand years. The weakness of polytheism was, in some measure, excused by the moderation of its claims: and the devotion of the pagans was not incompatible with the most licentious scepticism.* Instead of an indivisible and regular system,

* A modern philosopher has ingeniously compared the different opinions of theists and polytheists, with regard to the deities or existences which they profess in the human world. See Hume's Essays, vol. 7, p. 444-447, in 5vo, 1752. (177).

which occupies the whole extent of the believing mind, the mythology of the Greeks was composed of a thousand fables and indelible parts, and the servant of the gods was at liberty to define the degree and measure of his religious faith. The creed which Julian adopted for his own use, was of the largest dimensions; and, by a strange contradiction, he disdained the salutary yoke of the gospel, whilst he made a voluntary offering of his reason on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo. One of the anecdotes of Julian is consecrated to the honour of Cybele, the mother of the gods, who required from her effeminate priests the bloody sacrifice so rashly performed by the madness of the Phrygian boy. The pious emperor condescends to relate, without a blush, and without a smile, the voyage of the goddess from the shores of Pergamum to the mouth of the Tyber; and the stupendous miracle, which convinced the senate and people of Rome that the lump of clay, which their ambassadors had transported over the seas, was endowed with life and sentiment and divine power.* For the truth of this prodigy, he appeals to the public monuments of the city; and censures, with some acrimony, the sickly and affected taste of those

GREAT
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* The Idæa, indeed, landed in Italy about the end of the second Punic war. The miracle of Canosa, where certain natives, who missed her name by disgracing the great ancestry of the Roman house, is attested by a crowd of witnesses. Their evidence is collected by Dealingrorety, and William Hallam, vol. 2. But how we can believe that Idæa (i. e. Cybele) ever had communion with human society.

CHAP. men who impudently derided the sacred tra-
 XVIII. ditions of their ancestors.*

THE AL- But the devout philosopher, who sincerely em-
 220. braced, and warmly encouraged, the superstition
 of the people, reserved for himself the privilege
 of a liberal interpretation; and silently withdrew
 from the foot of the altars into the sanctuary of
 the temple. The extravagance of the Grecian
 mythology proclaimed with a clear and audible
 voice, that the pious inquirer, instead of being
 scandalized or satisfied with the literal sense,
 should diligently explore the occult wisdom,
 which had been disguised, by the prudence of
 antiquity, under the mask of folly and of fable.[†]
 The philosophers of the Platonic school,[‡] Pla-
 tinnus, Porphyry, and the divine Iamblichus, were
 admired as the most skillful masters of this al-
 legorical science, which laboured to soften and
 harmonize the deformed features of paganism.
 Julian himself, who was directed in the myste-
 rious pursuit by Iamblichus, the venerable successor

* I cannot refrain from transcribing the emphatical words of Julian, in which he has expressed his contempt for the superstitions of his countrymen. *Julianus Imperator ad Antiochum Episcopum*, tom. ii. p. 181. Julian likewise declares his firm belief in the oracles, the holy children, which were held sacred in the Christian belief; and praises the strange blindness of the Christians who preferred the cross to these celestial trophies. *Apud Euseb. l. vi. p. 184.*

† See the principles of allegory, in Iamblichus, *lib. vii. c. 216, 217.* His reasoning is not abstract than that of some modern theologists, who would that in disputation on sacramental doctrine should derive force on men else would have thought of inventing it.

‡ Iamblichus has made three volumes the subject of a partial and partial history; and the learned Bezaeus (*1316, Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 225*) has employed much labour to illustrate their obscure views, and innumerable doctrines.

of Iamblichus, aspired to the possession of a treasure, which he esteemed, if we may credit his solemn asserations, far above the empire of the world.* It was indeed a treasure, which derived its value only from opinion; and every artist, who flattered himself that he had extracted the precious ore from the surrounding dross, claimed an equal right of stamping the name and figure the most agreeable to his peculiar fancy. The fable of Arys and Cybele had been already explained by Porphyry; but his labours served only to animate the pious industry of Julian, who invented and published his own allegory of that ancient and mystic tale. This freedom of interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platonists, exposed the vanity of their art. Without a tedious detail, the modern reader could not form a just idea of the strange allusions, the forced etymologies, the solemn trifling, and the impenetrable obscurity of these sages, who professed to reveal the system of the universe. As the traditions of pagan mythology were variously related, the sacred interpreters were at liberty to select the most convenient circumstances; and as they translated an arbitrary cypher, they could extract from any fable any sense which was adapted to their favourite system of religion and philosophy. The lascivious form of a naked Venus was tortured into the discovery

* Julian, *Const. c.* p. 225. — He agrees with the most fervent and enthusiastic disciples; and trembles lest he should betray too much of those holy mysteries, which the profane might doubt with impunity to have been taught.

CHAP.
XXIII.The
Theological
system
of Julian.

of some moral precept, or some physical truth; and the castration of Atys explained the revolution of the sun between the tropics, or the asperation of the human soul from vice and error?

The Theological system of Julian appears to have contained the sublime and important principles of natural religion. But as the faith, which is not founded on revelation, must remain destitute of any firm assistance, the disciple of Plato imprudently relapsed into the habits of vulgar superstition; and the popular and philosophic notion of the Deity seems to have been confounded in the practice, the writings, and even in the mind of Julian.* The pious emperor acknowledged and adored the Eternal Cause of the universe, to whom he ascribed all the perfections of an infinite nature, invisible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the understanding, of feeble mortals. The Supreme God had created, or, rather, in the Platonic language, had generated, the gradual succession of dependant spirits, of gods, of daemons, of heroes, and of men; and every being which derived its existence immediately from the First Cause, received the imbu-

* See the 4th section of Julian. But all the allegories which were borrow'd from the Platonic system, are not worth the slow perusal of Cassius on the most extraordinary subject. The castration of Atys, from the witless enthusiasm of some puerile rescriptist, for his irretrievable loss, must inspire a man with pity, an emperor with rage.

† The true religion of Julian may be collected from the *Claves*, p. 328, with Symplicius's notes and illustrations; from the fragments in *Capitulum*, ii. p. 47, 58, and especially from the theological section by Valentin Legeron, p. 136-156, abridg'd, in my translation of French ships to the present belief.

rent gift of immortality. That so precious an advantage might not be lavished upon unworthy objects, the Creator had intrusted to the skill and power of the inferior gods, the office of forming the human body, and of arranging the beautiful harmony of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms. To the conduct of these divine ministers he delegated the temporal government of this lower world: but their imperfect administration is not exempt from discord or error. The earth, and its inhabitants, are divided among them, and the characters of Mars or Minerva, of Mercury or Venus, may be distinctly traced in the laws and manners of their peculiar votaries. As long as our immortal souls are confined in a mortal prison, it is our interest, as well as our duty, to solicit the favour, and to deprecate the wrath, of the powers of heaven: whose pride is gratified by the devotion of mankind: and whose grosser parts may be supposed to derive some nourishment from the fumes of sacrifice.* The inferior gods might sometimes condescend to animate the statues, and to inhabit the temples, which were dedicated to their honour. They might occasionally visit the earth, but the heavens were the proper throne and symbol of their glory. The invariable order of the

* Dillan assigns this gross conception, by rendering it by his *deceptive Marcus Antoninus*, *Diogenes*, p. 225. The *Phidias* and *Philonetia* localized between the strategy of bodies and the poetry of spirits; yet the grossest philosophy contained in the *Alchemical Song of Asaph* and *Isaiah*, that an inferiority may inhabit parts the immortal gods. See *Observations de Spinoza*, p. 194, 195, &c.

CHAP. III. sun, moon, and stars, was hastily admitted by
 XXIII. Julian, as a proof of their *eternal* duration; and
 their eternity was a sufficient evidence that they
 were the workmanship, not of an inferior deity,
 but of the Omnipotent King. In the system of
 the Platonists, the visible, was a type of the
 invisible, world. The celestial bodies, as they
 were informed by a divine spirit, might be con-
 sidered as the objects the most worthy of religious
 worship. The Sun, whose genial influence per-
 vades and sustains the universe, justly claimed
 the adoration of mankind, as the bright repre-
 sentative of the *Logos*, the lively, the rational,
 the beneficent image of the intellectual Father.*

Formi-
 cation of the
 platon-
 ists.

In every age, the absence of genuine inspira-
 tion is supplied by the strong illusions of enthu-
 siasm and the mimic arts of imposture. If, in
 the time of Julian, these arts had been practised
 only by the pagan priests, for the support of an
 expiring cause, some indulgence might perhaps
 be allowed to the interest and habits of the
 sacerdotal character. But it may appear a subject
 of surprise and scandal, that the philosophers
 themselves should have contributed to abuse the
 superstitious credulity of mankind; and that the

* *Ubi supra* in *De reprobis* non infertur, sed contra, ut respici-
 tur ad *coram magis*. Julian. *op. cit.* In another place, (quod
 Cyril. l. ii. p. 6th, he calls the sun, *God*, and the throne of God.
 Julian believed the Platonist Trinity, and only blames the Chris-
 tians for preferring a mortal, to an immortal, *Logos*.

† The scepters of Baal were profane as many attributes as the
 idols of the desert; and the only distinction in their favour is,
 that they are of a less gloomy complexion. Instead of deities with
 horns

Grecian mysteries should have been supported by the magic or theurgy of the modern Platonists. They arrogantly pretended to controul the order of nature, to explore the secrets of futurity, to command the service of the inferior deities, to enjoy the view and conversation of the superior gods, and, by disengaging the soul from her material bonds, to reunite that immortal particle with the Infinite and Divine Spirit.

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continued

The devout and fearless curiosity of Julian tempted the philosophers with the hopes of an easy conquest; which, from the situation of their young proselyte, might be productive of the most important consequences.* Julian imbibed the first rudiments of the Platonic doctrines from the mouth of Ecdocius, who had fixed at Pergamus his wandering and persecuted school. But as the declining strength of that venerable sage was unequal to the ardour, the diligence, the rapid conception of his pupil, two of his most learned disciples, Chrysanthus and Eusebius, supplied, at his own desire, the place of their aged master. These philosophers seem to have prepared and distributed their respective parts; and they artfully contrived, by dark hints, and af-

Initiation and Development of Julian.

* Some add also, Iamblicus sought the goal of even, Euse and Asterius, from the adjacent mountains. Two beautiful boys issued from the water, finely coloured, taller than their father, and entered in his chamber. P. P. VI.

* The disordered arrangement of these episodes, who played their ridiculous part, has each other's parts, is fully told by Symeon, pp. 28-76, with unassuming simplicity. The *Amor de la Historia* understands, and easily discloses, the whole story. (Vie de Julien, p. 31-45).

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trated disputes, to excite the impatient hopes of the *dyonotai*, till they delivered him into the hands of their associate Maximus, the boldest and most skilled master of the Theurgic science. By his hands, Julian was secretly initiated at Ephesus, in the twentieth year of his age. His residence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition. He obtained the privilege of a solemn initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian worship, still retained some vestiges of their primordial sanctity; and such was the zeal of Julian, that he afterwards invited the Eleusinian pontiff to the court of Gaul, for the sole purpose of consummating, by mystic rites and sacrifices, the great work of his sanctification. As these ceremonies were performed in the depths of caverns, and in the silence of the night; and as the inviolable secret of the mysteries was preserved by the discretion of the initiated, I shall not presume to describe the horrid sounds, and fiery apparitions, which were presented to the senses, or the imagination, of the credulous aspirant,* till the visions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celestial light.† In the caverns of Ephesus and

* When Julian, in a momentary peep, made the sign of the cross, the darkness instantly disappeared, &c. &c. See, Book IV. p. 114. Gregory supposes that they were *phantasms*, but the poet, declared that they were *sublimities*. The reader, according to the measure of his faith, will determine his probable opinion.

† A dark and distant view of the walls and tops of buildings is shown by Diana, Chryseides, Therochus, Proclus, and Apollonius. The *Intendant*.

Elcusa, the mind of Julian was penetrated with sincere, deep, and unalterable enthusiasm; though he might sometimes exhibit the vicissitudes of pious fraud and hypocrisy, which may be observed, or at least suspected, in the characters of the most conscientious fanatics. From that moment he consecrated his life to the service of the gods: and while the occupations of war, of government, and of study, seemed to claim the whole measure of his time, a stated portion of the hours of the night was invariably reserved for the exercise of private devotion. The temperance which adorned the severe manners of the soldier and the philosopher, was connected with some strict and frugal rules of religious abstinence; and it was in honour of Pan or Mercury, of Hercules or Isis, that Julian, on particular days, denied himself the use of some particular food, which might have been offensive to his tutelary deities. By these voluntary fasts, he prepared his senses and his understanding for the frequent and familiar visits with which he was honoured by the celestial powers. Notwithstanding the modest silence of Julian himself, we may learn from his faithful friend, the orator Lactantius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourse with the gods and goddesses; that they descended upon earth, to enjoy the conversation of their favourite hero; that they gently interrupted his slumber, by touching his hand or his hair; that

various names of the twelve legions his soldiers, their names, and the names of the legions, which he distinguished by family names, as the names of the legions.

CHAP. they warned him of every impending danger,
 XXIII. and conducted him, by their infallible wisdom,
 in every action of his life; and that he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of his heavenly guests, as readily to distinguish the voice of Jupiter from that of Minerva, and the form of Apollo from the figure of Hercules.* These sleeping or waking visions, the ordinary effects of abstinence and fanaticism, would almost degrade the emperor to the level of an Egyptian monk. But the useless lives of Antony or Pothmius were consumed in these vain occupations. Julian could break from the dream of superstition to arm himself for battle; and after vanquishing in the field the enemies of Rome, he calmly retired into his tent, to dictate the wise and salutary laws of an empire, or to indulge his genius in the elegant pursuits of literature and philosophy.

His religious
 and philosophical
 confusion.

The important secret of the apostasy of Julian was intrusted to the fidelity of the *initiated*, with whom he was united by the sacred ties of friendship and religion.[†] The pleasing rumour was cautiously circulated among the adherents of the ancient worship; and his future greatness became

* Julian's madness weighed him to obscure and unimportant apostasy, but Libanius expatiates with pleasure on the bold and strange of the religious man (Lives of Julian, p. LXX, and *Recl. Præface* c. xxxviii, p. 767, 823).

† *Ammonius*, *Orat. Perpet.* c. 2, p. CCC, 836. Gallus had been chosen to suspect the secret apostasy of his brother, and in a letter, which may be recovered its genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion of their ancestors, an argument which, as it should occur, was not yet perfectly tried. See *Julian, Orat.* p. 454, and *Recl. de Julian*, book 3, p. 141.

the object of the hopes, the prayers, and the predictions of the pagans, in every province of the empire. From the zeal and virtues of their royal proselyte, they fondly expected the cure of every evil, and the restoration of every blessing: and instead of disapproving of the ardour of their pious wishes, Julian ingeniously confessed, that he was ambitious to attain a situation, in which he might be useful to his country, and to his religion. But this religion was viewed with an hostile eye by the successor of Constantine, whose capricious passions alternately saved and threatened the life of Julian. The arts of magic and divination were strictly prohibited under a despotic government, which condemned to fear them: and if the pagans were reluctantly indulged in the exercise of their superstition, the rank of Julian would have excepted him from the general toleration. The apostate soon became the presumptive heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appeased the just apprehensions of the Christians.* But the young prince, who aspired to the glory of a hero, rather than of a martyr, consulted his safety by dissembling his religion: and the easy temper of polytheists permitted him to join in the public worship of a sect which he inwardly despised. Libanius has considered the hypocrisy of his friend as a subject, not of censure, but of praise.

* Gergory, *lib. 10.* p. 264, with Johnson and, misuses Constantine for giving the infant apostate, *tenace* ardour. His French translator, *le P. de la*, cautiously observes, that such expressions must not be given to his action.

The inclination of Julian might prefer the gods of Homer, and of the Scipios, to the new faith, which his uncle had established in the Roman empire, and in which he himself had been sanctified by the sacrament of baptism. But as a philosopher, it was incumbent on him to justify his dissent from Christianity, which was supported by the number of its converts, by the claim of prophecy, the splendour of miracles, and the weight of evidence. The elaborate work,* which he composed amidst the preparations of the Persian war, contained the substance of those arguments which he had long revolved in his mind. Some fragments have been transcribed and preserved by his adversary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria;† and they exhibit a very singular mixture of wit and learning, of sophistry and fanaticism. The elegance of the style, and the rank of the author, recommended his writings to the public attention;‡ and in the impious list of the enemies of

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He writes against Christianity.
27.

* Valentin (Clement) Orat. l. vi. c. 110, p. 104, by and Lactantius (Constantin) Institutiones, lib. vi. p. 44-47, have accurately copied all that can be discovered of Julian's work against the Christians.

† About seventy years after the death of Julian, he extracted a book which had been partly translated by Philip of Side, a pious and respectable writer. Even the work of Cyril has not entirely escaped the hands of scrupulous judges; and the Abbé de la Bletterie (Parnes & Phil. de Paris, p. 30) has shown that some dangerous passages in strange extracts would undermine the reputation of Julian.

‡ Eusebius, Hist. Ecclesiast. l. x. c. 12, p. 312, who has been suspected of concealing his secret, denies this direct contradiction (Parn. de la Bletterie, p. 273, 493). Morley to the writings of Porphyry. His judgment may be assigned, (Nottman & de la Bletterie) cannot be accused of falling in a dead point.



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Christianity, the celebrated name of Porphyry was afforded by the superior merit or reputation of Julian. The minds of the faithful were either seduced, or scandalized, or alarmed; and the pagans, who sometimes presumed to engage in the unequal dispute, derived from the popular work of their imperial missionary, an inexhaustible supply of fallacious objections. But in the zealous prosecution of these theological studies, the emperor of the Romans imbibed the illiberal prejudices and passions of a polemic divine. He contracted an irrevocable obligation to maintain and propagate his religious opinions: and whilst he secretly applauded the strength and dexterity with which he wielded the weapons of controversy, he was tempted to distrust the sincerity, or to despise the understandings, of his antagonists, who could obstinately resist the force of reason and eloquence.

CHRISTIAN
FACCTIONS.

The Christians, who beheld with horror and indignation the apostacy of Julian, had much more to fear from his power than from his arguments. The pagans, who were conscious of his fervent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the flames of persecution should be immediately kindled against the enemies of the gods; and that the ingenious malice of Julian would invent some cruel refinements of death and torture, which had been unknown to the rude and inexperienced fury of his predecessors. But the hopes, as well as the fears, of the religious factions were apparently disappointed, by

the prudent humanity of a prince,* who was careful of his own fame, of the public peace, and of the rights of mankind. Instructed by history and reflection, Julian was persuaded, that if the diseases of the body may sometimes be cured by salutary violence, neither steel nor fire can eradicate the erroneous opinions of the mind. The reluctant victim may be dragged to the foot of the altar; but the heart still abhors and disclaims the sacrilegious act of the hand. Religious obstinacy is hardened and exasperated by oppression; and, as soon as the persecution ceases, those who have yielded, are restored as penitents, and those who have resisted, are honoured as saints and martyrs. If Julian adapted the unsuccessful cruelty of Diocletian and his colleagues, he was sensible that he should stain his memory with the name of tyrant, and add new glories to the Catholic church, which had derived strength and increase from the severity of the pagan magistrates. Actuated by these motives, and apprehensive of disturbing the repose of an unsettled reign, Julian surprised the world by an edict, which was not unworthy of a statesman or a philosopher. He extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world, the benefits of a free and equal toleration; and the only hardship which he inflicted on the

* Likhutsky (*Great Parents*, iv. 161), p. 252, 1849 has elegantly expounded the tolerating principles and conduct of his imperial friend. In a very remarkable epistle to the people of Pontus, Julian himself testifies his possession of moderation, and toleration for all, which he acknowledged to Alexander, and repeated by Gregory. (*Orat.* lib. p. 72.)

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Christians, was to deprive them of the power of tormenting their fellow-subjects, whom they stigmatised with the odious titles of idolaters and heretics. The pagans received a gracious permission, or rather an express order, to open all their temples¹ and they were at once delivered from the oppressive laws, and arbitrary vexations, which they had sustained under the reign of Constantine and of his sons. At the same time, the bishops and clergy, who had been banished by the Arian monarch, were recalled from exile, and restored to their respective churches: the Donatists, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Eusebians, and those who, with a more prosperous fortune, adhered to the doctrine of the council of Nice. Julian, who understood and derided their theological disputes, invited to the palace the leaders of the hostile sects, that he might enjoy the agreeable spectacle of their furious encounters. The clamour of controversy sometimes provoked the emperor to exclaim,—“Hear me! the Franks have heard me, and the Alemanni;” but he soon discovered that he was now engaged with more obstinate and implacable enemies; and though he exerted the powers of oratory to persuade them to live in concord, or at least in peace, he was perfectly satisfied, before he dis-

¹ In Greece the temples of Minerva were opened by his express command, *Index*: the death of Constantine, *Index*: *Third Point*: c. 4. p. 280; and Julian declares himself a pagan in his public address to the Athenians. This supposition is rather too easy even to the lively suspicion of Ammianus, who seems to suppose Constantine to be the glass where he discovered his attachment to the gods.

ruined them from his presence, that he had nothing to dread from the union of the Christians. The impartial Ammianus has ascribed this affected clemency to the desire of fomenting the intestine divisions of the church; and the insidious design of undermining the foundations of Christianity, was inseparably connected with the zeal, which Julian professed, to restore the ancient religion of the empire.*

DEAF.
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As soon as he ascended the throne, he assumed, according to the custom of his predecessors, the character of supreme pontiff; not only as the most honourable title of imperial greatness, but as a sacred and important office, the duties of which he was resolved to execute with pious diligence. As the business of the state prevented the emperor from joining every day in the public devotion of his subjects, he dedicated a domestic chapel to his tutelar deity the Sun; his gardens were filled with statues and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace displayed the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morning he saluted the parent of light with a sacrifice: the blood of another victim was shed at the moment when the sun sunk below the horizon; and the moon, the stars, and the geni of the night, received their respective and seasonable

*Leaf and
development
of Pollen
in the air
at various periods
from 1884-1886*

[illegible]

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honour from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. On solemn festivals, he regularly visited the temple of the god or goddess to whom the day was peculiarly consecrated, and endeavoured to excite the religion of the magistrates and people by the example of his own zeal. Instead of maintaining the lofty state of a monarch, distinguished by the splendour of his purple, and encompassed by the golden shields of his guards, Julian solicited, with respectful eagerness, the meanest offices which contributed to the worship of the gods. Amidst the sacred but licentious crowd of priests, of inferior ministers, and of female dancers, who were dedicated to the service of the temple, it was the business of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the fire, to handle the knife, to slaughter the victim, and, thrusting his bloody hands into the bowels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the consummate skill of an haruspex, the imaginary signs of future events. The wisest of the pagans censured this extravagant superstition, which affected to despise the restraints of prudence and decency. Under the reign of a prince, who practised the rigid maxims of economy, the expense of religious worship consumed a very large portion of the revenue: a constant supply of the scarcest and most beautiful birds was transported from distant climates, to bless on the altars of the gods: an hundred oxen were frequently sacrificed by Julian on one and the same day: and it soon became a popular jest, that if he should

return with conquest from the Persian war, the breed of horned cattle must infallibly be extinguished. Yet this expense may appear inconsiderable, when it is compared with the splendid presents which were offered, either by the hand, or by order of the emperor, to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world; and with the sums allotted to repair and decorate the ancient temples, which had suffered the silent decay of time, or the recent injuries of Christian rapine. Encouraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality, of their pious sovereign, the cities and families resumed the practice of their neglected ceremonies. "Every part of the world," exclaims Libanius, with devout transport, "displayed the triumph of religion: and the grateful prospect of flaming altars, bleeding victims, the smoke of incense, and a solemn train of priests and prophets, without fear and without danger. The sound of prayer and of music was heard on the tops of the highest mountains; and the same ox afforded a sacrifice for the gods, and a supper for their joyous votaries."

But the genius and power of Julian were unequal to the enterprise of restoring a religion,

Restoration of paganism.

The restoration of the Egyptian worship is described by Julian, *Chrysostom*, p. 340; *Libanius*, *orat.* *Perpet.* c. 40, p. 388, 389, and *Orat. Chalcid.* of Julian, p. 235, 236, edit. *Musei*; *Ammonius*, *test.* 17, and *Gregory Nazianzen*, *orat.* 16, p. 121. These writers agree in the essential, and some likewise agree in the different lights in which they view the address delivered by Julian, as a specimen of the grandeur of self-appointed, personal adorations, mild repasts, and partial inventions.

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which was destitute of theological principles, of moral precepts, and of ecclesiastical discipline; which rapidly hastened to decay and desolation, and was not susceptible of any solid or consistent reformation. The jurisdiction of the supreme pontiff, more especially after that office had been united with the imperial dignity, comprehended the whole extent of the Roman empire. Julian named for his vicars, in the several provinces, the priests and philosophers, whom he esteemed the best qualified to co-operate in the execution of his great design; and his pastoral letters,* if we may use that name, still represent a very curious sketch of his wishes and intentions. He directs, that in every city the sacerdotal order should be composed, without any distinction of birth or fortune, of those persons who were the most conspicuous for their love of the gods, and of men.—“ If they are guilty,” continues he, “ of any scandalous offence, they should be re-
sured or degraded by the superior pontiff; but, as long as they retain their rank, they are entitled to the respect of the magistrates and people. Their humility may be shewn in the plainness of their domestic garb; their dignity, in the pomp of their vestments. When they are summoned in their turn to officiate before the altar, they ought not, during the

* See Julian, *Epistol. lib. lvi. lviij.* and a long and curious correspondence, without beginning or end, *ib. lxx. lxxi.* The supreme jurisdiction belongs to the Mosaic history and the Christian discipline, proves the Greek priests to the Hebrew prophets, and pilgrims, with the seal of a Jewish, the relative worship of images.

appointed number of days, to depart from the
 precincts of the temple; nor should a single
 day be suffered to elapse, without the prayers
 and the sacrifice, which they are obliged to
 offer for the prosperity of the state, and of in-
 dividuums. The exercise of their sacred func-
 tions requires an immaculate piety, both of
 mind and body; and even when they are dis-
 missed from the temple to the occupations of
 common life, it is incumbent on them to
 excel in decency and virtue the rest of their
 fellow-citizens. The priest of the gods should
 never be seen in theatres or taverns. His
 conversation should be chaste, his diet tem-
 perate, his friends of honorable reputation;
 and if he sometimes visits the forum or the
 palace, he should appear only as the advocate
 of those who have vainly solicited either justice
 or mercy. His studies should be suited to the
 sanctity of his profession. Licentious tales,
 or comedies, or satires, must be banished
 from his library: which ought solely to consist
 of historical and philosophical writings: of
 history which is founded in truth, and of phi-
 losophy which is connected with religion.
 The impious opinions of the epicureans and
 sceptics deserve his abhorrence and con-
 tempt; but he should diligently study the

* The translation of *Julian* (p. 281), that these ancient writers, and even their writings, are extirpated, may be consistent enough with the historical statement; but it is a variety of a phlogiston to wish, that any opinions and arguments, the most important to his age, should be concealed from the knowledge of mankind.

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 " systems of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of the
 " sages, which unanimously teach that there
 " are gods: that the world is governed by their
 " providence; that their goodness is the source
 " of every temporal blessing; and that they have
 " prepared for the human soul a future state of
 " reward or punishment." The imperial pontiff
 inculcates, in the most persuasive language, the
 duties of benevolence and hospitality: exhorts
 his inferior clergy to recommend the universal
 practice of those virtues; promises to assist their
 indigence from the public treasury; and declares
 his resolution of establishing hospitals in every
 city, where the poor should be received without
 any invidious distinction of country or of reli-
 gion. Julian beheld with envy the wise and
 humane regulations of the church; and he very
 frankly confesses his intention to deprive the
 Christians of the applause, as well as advantage,
 which they had acquired by the exclusive practice
 of charity and beneficence.* The same spirit
 of imitation might dispose the emperor to adopt
 several ecclesiastical institutions, the use and im-
 portance of which were approved by the success
 of his enemies. But if these imaginary plans of
 reformation had been realized, the forced and
 imperfect copy would have been less beneficial

* Yet he imagined, that the Christians, under the pressure of
 charity, invaded studies from their religion and parents, con-
 veyed them on shipboard, and devoted those youths to a life of
 poverty or servitude in a remote country, (p. 305). Had the charge
 been proved, it was his duty, not to complain, but to punish.

to paganism, than honourable to Christianity.' CHAP.
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The gentiles, who peacefully followed the cus-
toms of their ancestors, were rather surprised
than pleased with the introduction of foreign
manners: and, in the short period of his reign,
Julian had frequent occasions to complain of the
want of fervour of his own party.

The enthusiasm of Julian prompted him to embrace the friends of Jupiter as his personal friends and brethren; and though he partially overlooked the merit of Christian constancy, he admired and rewarded the noble perseverance of those gentiles who had preferred the favour of the gods to that of the emperor.* If they cultivated the literature, as well as the religion, of the Greeks, they acquired an additional claim to the friendship of Julian, who ranked the Muses in the number of his tutelary deities. In the religion which he had adopted, piety and learning were almost synonymous;† and a crowd of poets,

* Gregory Mannix is freedom, integrity, and respectability. *Opus*, III, p. 101, 106, 107. He indicates the duty of men with intention; but knows himself well enough, what human, moral or theological, could be extracted from the Greek text.

He secured one of his portraits of a secret confederacy with the Christian bishops and preachers. Upon this paper is written the following verse upon the Jews and pagans, near to the picture. See page 131.

* He joins the *Society of Christian*, preachers of *Grace*, which had been twice as constant as *Evangelists*, and regards her with the profound of the *Phrygian* problem at *Protestant*. *Christian* *Epist* 1815. He applies the *German* of *August* at *Hamburg*, who had been repeatedly proved by *Communist* and *Galley* to *apostates*. *Epist* 1815. p. 301.

² It is sometimes alleged against us and that party that Party, p. 17, p. 302. The same sentiment is frequently evoked by Julius, Edmunds, and the rest of that party.

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continued.

of rhetoricians, and of philosophers, hastened to the imperial court, to occupy the vacant places of the bishops, who had seduced the credulity of Constantine. His successor esteemed the ties of common initiation as far more sacred than those of consanguinity; he chose his favourites among the sages, who were deeply skilled in the occult sciences of magic and divination; and every impostor, who pretended to reveal the secrets of futurity, was assured of enjoying the present hour in honour and affluence.* Among the philosophers, Maximus obtained the most eminent rank in the friendship of his royal disciple, who communicated, with unreserved confidence, his actions, his sentiments, and his religious designs, during the anxious suspense of the civil war.† As soon as Julian had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, he despatched an honourable and pressing invitation to Maximus, who then resided at Sardes in Lydia, with Chrysanthus, the associate of his art and studies. The prudent and superstitious Chrysanthus refused to undertake a journey which showed itself, according to the rules of divination, with the most threatening and malignant aspects; but his companion, whose fanaticism was of a bolder cast, persisted in his interrogations, till he had extorted from the gods a ser-

* The credulity and credulity of the emperor, who used every mode of divination, are fully exposed by Ammianus, *lib. 18.*

† Julian, *epist. 17.* *Yves.* These also, *Yves.* *lib. 1.* *Yves.* In the same spirit of friendship and confidence, are addressed to the philosopher Maximus.

ing consent to his own wishes, and those of the emperor. The journey of Maximus through the cities of Asia displayed the triumph of philosophic vanity: and the magistrates vied with each other in the honourable reception which they prepared for the friend of their sovereign. Julian was pronouncing an oration before the senate, when he was informed of the arrival of Maximus. The emperor immediately interrupted his discourse, advanced to meet him, and, with a tender embrace, conducted him by the hand into the midst of the assembly: where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which he had derived from the instructions of the philosopher. Maximus,* who soon acquired the confidence, and influenced the councils, of Julian, was insensibly corrupted by the temptations of a court. His dress became more splendid, his demeanour more lofty, and he was exposed, under a succeeding reign, to a disgraceful inquiry into the means by which the disciple of Plato had accumulated, in the short duration of his favour, a very scandalous proportion of wealth. Of the other philosophers and sophists, who were invited to the imperial residence by the choice of Julian, or by the success of Maximus, few were able to

* Maximus in Maximus, p. 77, 78; 79, and in Hieronymus, p. 447, 448; has variously related these adventures, which he sometimes is the most important scenes of the age. Yet he only mentions the fall of Maximus. His description of Constantine is borrowed by Socrates (Hist. Eccles. c. 36, 37, 38), and second time, (c. 44, 7).

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preserve their innocence, or their reputation.* The liberal gifts of money, lands, and houses, were insufficient to satiate their rapacious avarice; and the indignation of the people was justly excited by the remembrance of their abject poverty and disinterested professions. The penetration of Julian could not always be deceived; but he was unwilling to despise the characters of those men whose talents deserved his esteem; he desired to escape the double reproach of imprudence and inconstancy; and he was apprehensive of degrading, in the eyes of the profane, the honour of letters and of religion.²

Uncon-
scious.

The favour of Julian was almost equally divided between the pagans, who had firmly adhered to the worship of their ancestors, and the Christians, who prudently embraced the religion of their sovereign. The acquisition of new proselytes³ gratified the ruling passions of his soul,

* Chrysostom, who had refused to quit Lydon, was exiled to the point of his province. His converts and disciples ran to meet him after the revolution; and he lived in peace; while Methodius, Titus, &c. were persecuted by the Christian multitude. See the adventures of these famous sophists, collected by Sozomen, tom. ii. p. 241-242.

² His *Liberation* (Hist. Parvul. c. 141, 142. p. 214, 221, 226, and *Compendium* (Vita Septimi in Procopius, p. 150). Some authors, whose impartiality perhaps were questionable on every point, retired to August, (Grog. Nov. Hist. iv. p. 170). It is strange that we should not be able to vindicate the title of man of Tillamouth's sophists (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 202). "O la! Quel de Julien est le prince de philosophie et de grand poète."

³ Under the reign of Louis XIV. the millions of every religion were the glorious trait of Government, regardless of civil and moral law, and long proscriptions. The word and the fact are preserved almost in France; and they were in circulation in England.

superstition and vanity; and he was heard to declare, with the enthusiasm of a missionary, that if he could render each individual richer than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he should not esteem himself the benefactor of mankind, unless, at the same time, he could reclaim his subjects from their impious revolt against the immortal gods.* A prince, who had studied human nature, and who possessed the treasures of the Roman empire, could adapt his arguments, his promises, and his rewards, to every order of Christians;† and the merit of a reasonable conversion was allowed to supply the defects of a candidate, or even to expiate the guilt of a criminal. As the army is the most forcible engine of absolute power, Julian applied himself, with peculiar diligence, to corrupt the religion of his troops, without whose hearty concurrence every measure must be dangerous and unsuccessful; and the natural temper of soldiers made this conquest as easy as it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themselves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader; and even before the death of Constantine, he had the satisfaction of announcing to his friends, that they named with

* See the strong expressions of Julian, which were probably those of Julian himself, (Quæst. Parrot. vi. 39, p. 287.)

† When Gregory Nazianzen, (Hist. i. p. 187.) is accused to suspect the Christian friends of his brother Constantine, physician to the imperial court, he says that Constantine dropped with a fatal illness, which is certain, and proves a fatal disease. In his intention to strictly allow any sort of sin or corruption in the apostate.

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and their future perseverance in the worship of the gods was enforced by every consideration of duty and of interest. By the frequent repetition of these arts, and at the expense of sums which would have purchased the services of half the nations of Scythia, Julian gradually acquired for his troops the imaginary protection of the gods, and for himself the firm and effectual support of the Roman legions.* It is indeed more than probable, that the restoration and encouragement of paganism revealed a multitude of pretended Christians, who, from motives of temporal advantage, had acquiesced in the religion of the former reign; and what afterwards returned, with the same flexibility of conscience, to the faith which was professed by the successors of Julian.

While the devout monarch incessantly laboured to restore and propagate the religion of his ancestors, he embraced the extraordinary design of rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. In a public epistle† to the nation or community of the Jews, dispersed through the provinces, he pities their misfortunes, condemns their oppressors, praises their constancy, declares himself their

* Gregory, *libert.* vii. p. 14, 15, 24, 25, and *libert.* (from Porphy.) vi. lib. vi. *cap.* p. 207, 208. sup. *mon.* p. 270, as against whose sentence argues. The English version and justify the expense of their military conversion.

† Julian's epistle (186) is addressed to the community of the Jews. Adde (Vocat. 149) has proposed a very new translation; this epistle is partly revised by his independent *Adversus Paganos* and *Sphæricos*. The epistle is mentioned by Eusebius, (H. E. v. 27), and the subject of it is mentioned by Gregory, *libert.* vi. p. 214, and by Julius Africanus, *Fragment.* p. 75.

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gracious protector, and expressed a pious hope, that after his return from the Persian war he may be permitted to pay his grateful vows to the Almighty in his holy city of Jerusalem. The blind superstition, and abject slavery, of those unfortunate exiles, must excite the contempt of a philosophic emperor; but they deserved the friendship of Julian, by their implacable hatred of the Christian name. The barren synagogue abhorred and envied the fecundity of the rebellious church: the power of the Jews was not equal to their malice: but their gravest rabbis approved the private murder of an apostate;¹ and their seditious clamours had often awakened the indolence of the pagan magistrates. Under the reign of Constantine, the Jews became the subjects of their revolted children, nor was it long before they experienced the bitterness of domestic tyranny. The civil immunities which had been granted, or confirmed, by Severus, were gradually repealed by the Christian princes: and a rash tumult excited by the Jews of Palestine,² seemed to justify the lucrative modes of oppression, which were invented by the

¹ The Mosaic punishment death against those who blasphemed the foundation. The judgment of war is explained by Marius, *Ulpian*, *Chrys.* p. 173, 182, also *Id.* London, 1622, and *Baronius*, *Ulpian*, *de Judo*, *lib.* vii. p. 129. Constantine made a law to protect Christian converts from Judaism. *Code Theod.* l. vii. tit. vii. leg. 1. *Gratian*, *lib.* vi. c. 113.

² It lasted during the civil war of Maximilian, *Julianus*, *Ulpian*, and *Paulinus* allude to the Jewish rebellion, *Ulpian*, *Adrianus*, in *Constitutione*, c. 22. See *Thiermann*, *Ulpian*, *de* *Reperitio*, *lib.* iv. p. 218, & *Id.*

bishops and eunuchs of the court of Constantine. CHAP. XXXII.
The Jewish patriarch, who was still permitted XXXII.
to exercise a precarious jurisdiction, had his residence at Tiberias;² and the neighbouring cities of Palestine were filled with the remains of a people, who finally adhered to the promised land. But the edict of Hadrian was renewed and enforced; and they viewed from afar the walls of the holy city, which were profaned in their eyes by the triumph of the cross, and the devotion of the Christians.³

In the midst of a rocky and barren country, Jewish the walls of Jerusalem* enclosed the two mountains of Sion and Acra; within an oval figure of about three English miles.⁴ Towards the south, the upper town, and the fortress of David, were erected on the lofty ascent of Mount Sion: on the north side, the buildings of the lower town covered the spacious summit of Mount Acra; and a part of the hill, distinguished by the name of Moriah, and levelled by human industry, was crowned with the stately temple of the Jewish

* The city and temple of Tiberias are variously described by Heland, Ptolemy, &c. tom. ii. p. 1036-1047.

² Ruessig has fully illustrated the situation of the Jews under Constantine and his successors, (Hist. eccl. v. 10; p. 171-173).

³ Heland (Palaestina, l. 4, p. 208, 209) l. ult. p. 323) describes, with learning and perspicuity, Jerusalem, and the face of the adjacent country.

⁴ I have consulted a new and curious treatise of H. de Kestle, (see Constantine Jerusalem, Paris, 1745, p. 75). The circumference of the ancient city (Josephus, *Antiquities*, l. vi. c. 20) was two thousand stadia, or 2520 fathoms. A plan taken on the spot, enlarged no more than 1840 for the modern town. The circuit is divided by several high walls, which seemed to resemble an inclosed

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nation. After the final destruction of the temple, by the arms of Titus and Hadrian, a ploughshare was drawn over the consecrated ground, as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deserted; and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Roman colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. The holy places were polluted with monuments of idolatry; and, either from design or accident, a chapel was dedicated to Venus, on the spot which had been sanctified by the death and resurrection of Christ.* Almost three hundred years after those stupendous events, the profane chapel of Venus was demolished by the order of Constantine; and the removal of the earth and stones revealed the holy sepulchre to the eyes of mankind. A magnificent church was erected on that mystic ground, by the first Christian emperor; and the effects of his pious munificence were extended to every spot which had been consecrated by the footsteps of patriarchs, of prophets, and of the Son of God.[†]

The passionate desire of contemplating the original instruments of the redemption, attracted to Jerusalem a successive crowd of pilgrims, from the shores of the Atlantic ocean, and the most

Pilgrims.
1000.

* See the ancient passage in *Jerom.* (tom. i. p. 1024 *not.* 11. p. 1115.) and the temple rebuilt at Tiberias, (*Hist. de l'Empereur Titus*), p. 367 *not.* 1. p. 393-394. See also the

† *Kiehlens*, in *Vita Constantini*, l. vi. c. 35-37, 41-43. The emperor likewise built churches at Bethany, the Mount of Olives, and the tomb of Marthe. The holy sepulchre is described by *Amala*, (*Voyage*, p. 122-123.) and curiously delineated by *Le Moine*, (*Voyage en Levant*, p. 255-256).

distant countries of the east¹ and their piety was authorized by the example of the empress Helena, who appears to have united the credulity of age with the warm feelings of a recent conversion. Sages and heroes, who have visited the memorable scenes of ancient wisdom or glory, have confessed the inspiration of the genius of the place;² and the Christian, who knelt before the holy sepulchre, ascribed his lively faith, and his fervent devotion, to the more immediate influence of the Divine spirit. The zeal, perhaps the avarice, of the clergy at Jerusalem cherished and multiplied these beneficial visits. They fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the scene of each memorable event. They exhibited the instruments which had been used in the passion of Christ; the nails and the lance that had pierced his hands, his feet, and his side; the crown of thorns that was planted on his head; the pillar at which he was scourged; and, above all, they shewed the cross on which he suffered, and which was dug out of the earth in the reign of those princes, who inserted the symbol of Christianity in the banners of the Roman legions.³ Such miracles, as seemed necessary to

¹ The journey from Alexandria to Jerusalem, was completed in the year 321, for the use of pilgrims; among whom Justin, torn. i. p. 116, mentions the Syrians and the Ethiopians. The causes of this superstitious belief are discussed by the learned and judicious professor of Worcester, (Hosmer, p. 222-242.)

² Caprinus, *Vestiges*, c. ii. has beautifully expressed the romantic ideas of mankind.

³ Baronius, *Annal. Eccles. A. D.* 326, N°. 47-50; and Theophylact, *Icon. Eccles. lxxi.* p. 9-14; see the historians and



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account for its extraordinary preservation, and reasonable discovery, were gradually propagated without opposition. The custody of the *tree cross*, which on Easter Sunday was solemnly exposed to the people, was intrusted to the bishop of Jerusalem; and he alone might gratify the curious devotion of the pilgrims, by the gift of small pieces, which they exchanged in gold or gems, and carried away in triumph to their respective countries. But as this gainful branch of commerce must soon have been annihilated, it was found convenient to suppose, that the marvellous wood possessed a secret power of vegetation; and that its substance, though continually diminished, still remained entire and unimpaired. It might perhaps have been expected, that the influence of the place, and the belief of a perpetual miracle, should have produced some salutary effects on the morals, as well as on the faith of the people. Yet the most respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have been obliged to confess, not only that the streets of Jerusalem

disappeared of the miraculous branches of the tree, under the reign of Constantine. Their latest witnesses are Paulinus, Sulpicius Severus, Sozomen, Rufinus, Ambrose, and perhaps Euseb. of Jerusalem. The silence of Eusebius, and the Winchester pilgrim, which imitates them who write, profrats those who believe. See *Journal* of travels in Palestine, vol. II. p. 226-228.

* This multiplication is inserted by Pausanias, (supra. XXIII.) and Clapton. Biondo. Excurs. tom. III. p. 147, who seems to have imagined a chivalrous episode of Cyrenians and Saracens. The same supernatural prodigings must have been ascribed to the Virgin's milk. (Kerami Opera, tom. I. p. 118; *Legit. Roman.* 1728, in Colloq. de Perigrinat. Belgicis scriptis, p. 104, &c. and other articles, which were repeated in so many different churches.

were filled with the incessant tumult of business and pleasure;² but that every species of vice, adultery, theft, idolatry, poisoning, murder, was familiar to the inhabitants of the holy city.³ The wealth and pre-eminence of the church of Jerusalem excited the ambition of Arian, as well as orthodox candidates; and the virtues of Cyril, who, since his death, has been honoured with the title of Saint, were displayed in the exercise, rather than in the acquisition, of his episcopal dignity.*

The vain and ambitious mind of Julian might aspire to restore the ancient glory of the temple of Jerusalem.⁵ As the Christians were greatly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of the Mosaic law, the imperial sophist would

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continued

Julian so
tempted to
rebuild the
temple.

² Jerome, *opus*, l. p. lxxxv. who resided in the neighbouring village of Bethlem, describes the vice of Jerusalem from his personal experience.

³ Euseb. *Syncr.* apud Wadding, p. lxxx. The whole epistle, which contains either the sum or the abridg of pregnant passages, is printed in the *Catholic System*, while it is described in still more general terms.

⁴ He received his sacerdotal education, assumed as a deacon, and was re-ordained by the hands of the Armen. But Cyril afterwards changed with the times, and gradually conformed to the Syrian sect. Tellamont, *l'Esprit des Loix*, tom. viii. who treats his memory with tenderness and respect, has thrown his chains into the sea, and his faults into the air, as *deserts d'histoire*, at the end of the volume.

⁵ Joseph and his associates imagined an opulent profane temple. Ammian. lxxiii. 1. The temple of Jerusalem had been famous even among the gentiles. They had many temples in each city; (at Bethlem five, at Caes. eight, at Bana. four hundred and twenty-four); but the wealth and religion of the Jewish nation was centred in one spot.

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have converted the success of his undertaking into a specious argument against the faith of prophecy, and the truth of revelation.^b He was displeased with the spiritual worship of the synagogue; but he approved the institutions of Moses, who had not disdained to adopt many of the rites and ceremonies of Egypt.^c The local and national deity of the Jews was sincerely adored by a polytheist, who desired only to multiply the number of the gods;^d and such was the appetite of Julian for bloody sacrifice, that his stimulation might be excited by the piety of Solomon, who had offered, at the feast of the dedication, twenty-two thousand oxen, and one hundred and twenty thousand sheep.^e These considerations might influence his designs; but the prospect of an immediate and important ad-

^b The secret intentions of Julian are discovered by the late Bishop of Salisbury, the learned and dignified Harmer, who, with the assistance of a theologist, publishes the secret and sacred of the Supreme Being. The discourse is printed, London, 1714. It is strongly marked with all the prejudices which are inseparable from Manicheism.

^c I do not myself believe Maimonides, Maimon, Eusebius, Le Clerc, Wetherburn, &c. who have fully proved, by facts, the identity and the falsehood of some agreeable errors. See *Deus Legislat.* vol. ix. p. 25, &c.

^d Julian (*Harmer's* p. 285) repeatedly styles him *agapei eos*, and mentions him elsewhere styled *Agapei* which will, I judge, express him. He decry considers the Christians as idolaters, and for considering the religion of the Jews. Their deity was a man, but not the same, *Ibid.* April 4. *ib.* p. 263, 264.

^e I Kings, viii. 26. 2 Chronicles, vi. 4. Josephus *Antiquities* Judae. l. viii. c. 8. p. 474. *ibid.* Harmer, &c. As the blood and souls of so many creatures might be immolated, I suppose, the Christian wills, convert them by a miracle. See Christ (*ib.* *ib.*) is told enough to convert the fidelity of themselves.

vantage, would not suffer the impatient monarch to expect the remote and uncertain event of the Persian war. He resolved to erect, without delay, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a stately temple, which might eclipse the splendor of the church of the Resurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; to establish an order of priests, whose interested zeal would detect the arts, and resist the ambition, of their Christian rivals; and to invite a numerous colony of Jews, whose stern fanaticism would be always prepared to second, and even to anticipate, the hostile measures of the pagan government. Among the friends of the emperor (if the names of emperor and of friend are not incompatible) the first place was assigned, by Julian himself, to the virtuous and learned Alypius.¹ The humanity of Alypius was tempered by severe justice, and manly fortitude; and while he exercised his abilities in the civil administration of Britain, he imitated, in his poetical compositions, the harmony and softness of the odes of Sappho. This minister, to whom Julian communicated, without reserve, his most careless levities, and his most serious counsels, received an extraordinary commission to restore, in its pristine beauty, the temple of Jerusalem; and the diligence of Alypius required and obtained the strenuous support of the governor of Palestine. At the call of their great deliverer, the Jews from all the provinces of the empire, assembled on the holy mountain

¹ Julian, *opud.* viii. viii. La Motte has neglected to translate the second of these verses.

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of their fathers; and their insolent triumph alarmed and exasperated the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. The desire of rebuilding the temple has, in every age, been the ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitious moment the men forgot their axes, and the women their distaff; spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was opened in liberal contributions; every hand claimed a share in the pious labour; and the countenance of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people.*

The temple is
deserted.

Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of power and enthusiasm were unsuccessful; and the ground of the Jewish temple, which is now covered by a Mahometan mosque,† still continued to exhibit the same appalling spectacle of ruin and desolation. Perhaps the absence and death of the emperor, and the new maxims of a Christian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the last six months of the life of Julian.

* See the zeal and impetuosity of the Jews in George's Narration, Hist. iv. p. 111; and Thierstein, ii. iv. c. 29.

† Built by Omar, the second Khalif, who died A. D. 644. This great mosque covers the whole remaining ground of the Jewish temple, and constitutes almost a square of 500 fathoms, or 400 Roman miles in circumference. See d'Arville's Travels, p. 42.

† Astrucius, towards the middle of the year 1611, before his departure to reciting the thoughts of Julian. Theophrastus, however, was then regarded as incredible. We have not a direct work to illustrate the designs, but we must have understood from several examples, that the execution of such a project would have demanded three years.

But the Christians entertained a natural and pious expectation, that, in this memorable contest, the honour of religion would be vindicated by some signal miracle. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, which overturned and scattered the new foundations of the temple, are attested, with some variations, by contemporary and respectable evidence.¹ This public event is described by Ambrose,² bishop of Milan, in an epistle to the emperor Theodosius, which must provoke the severe animadversion of the Jews: by the eloquent Chrysostom,³ who might appeal to the memory of the elder part of his congregation at Antioch; and by Gregory Nazianzen,⁴ who published his account of the miracle before the expiration of the same year. The last of these writers has boldly declared, that this preternatural event was not disputed by the infidels; and his assertion, strange as it may

perhaps by
a private
natural
event.

¹ The subsequent account, Scriver, *Annals*, Trenchard, *Philosophy*, &c. all contradicting, rather than supporting. Compare the statement of Bede (*Hist. des Arts*, tom. i. p. 131, 132) with Wicliffe's doctrine (*Trilog.* p. 114, 115). The bishop has vigorously explained the numerous events which appeared in the progress of the earthquake by a similar tempest, and the natural effects of lightning.

² Ambrose, *Tom. ii.* epist. xl. p. 216, edit. Benedictus. He supposed this famous epistle (A. D. 390) to justify a bishop, who had been condemned by the civil magistrates for burning a synagogue.

³ Chrysostom, *tom. i.* p. 286, *ed. Benedictus*. I have followed the common and natural supposition, and the learned spectators who date the completion of their edifice in the year 390, is evidence they were never persecuted from the people.

⁴ Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat. ii.* p. 116, 117. To be so anxious to prove, that the temple never was rebuilt before 390.

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seem, is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus.* The philosophic soldier, who loved the virtues, without adopting the prejudices of his master, has recorded, in his judicious and candid history of his own times, the extraordinary obstacles which interrupted the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem. "Whilst Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, urged, with vigour and diligence, the execution of the work, horrible balls of fire breaking out near the foundations, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place, from time to time, inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and the victorious element continuing in this manner obstinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance, the undertaking was abandoned." Such authority should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous, mind. Yet a philosopher may still require the original evidence of impartial and intelligent spectators. At this important crisis, any singular accident of nature would assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a real prodigy. This glorious deliverance would be

* *Ammian. lxxviii. c.* *Temp. impio nec fortiter iussus Alypius, jussuque provincialis urbis, inaccessi gloriâ Romanorum prope fundamenta ardens, acerbiter, impetibus ferax, læque laetis, æqueque spectabilis impetibus, templi rudimentis destructionem præstare, incessanter incipit.* *Walshart. lxxviii. c.* 80-81) he relates a succession of the tempests from the month of Julius and Augustus, and describes the conduct of a rebel, who tried to the Romans recovery. Such witness can only be received by a very favourable judge.

speedily improved and magnified by the pious art of the clergy at Jerusalem, and the active credulity of the Christian world; and, at the distance of twenty years, a Roman historian, careless of theological disputes, might adorn his work with the specious and splendid miracle.*

Particulars
of Julian.

The restoration of the Jewish temple was secretly connected with the ruin of the Christian church. Julian still continued to maintain the freedom of religious worship, without distinguishing, whether this universal toleration proceeded from his justice, or his clemency. He affected to pity the unhappy Christians, who were mistaken in the most important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was embittered by hatred; and the sentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of sarcastic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound, whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign. As he was sensible that the Christians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he condemned, and perhaps enjoined, the use of the less honourable appellation of GATHUMANS.[†] He declared, that, by the folly of the Galileans,

* Dr. Lardner, perhaps alone of the Christian critics, pretends to doubt the truth of this famous miracle, *Quests and Histories Testimonies*, vol. IV, p. 411-112. The dissent of Jerome would lead to a suspicion, that the same story, which was circulated in a distant, might be repeated on the spot.

† *Comp. Nov. Opus*, lib. IV, p. 81. And this law was confirmed by the insupportable position of Julian himself. Warton has justly observed, (p. 53), that the Paganism followed in the superstitious virtue of monks, and Julian's dislike for the name of Christ might proceed from superstition, as well as from contempt.



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whom he describes as a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men, and odious to the gods, the empire had been reduced to the brink of destruction; and he is doubtless in a public edict, that a frantic patient might sometimes be cured by salutary violence.* An ungenerous distinction was admitted into the mind and counsels of Julian, that, according to the difference of their religious sentiments, one part of his subjects deserved his favour and friendship, while the other was entitled only to the common benefits that his justice could not refuse to an obedient people.† According to a principle, pregnant with mischief and oppression, the emperor transferred, to the pontiffs of his own religion, the management of the liberal allowances from the public revenue, which had been granted to the church by the piety of Constantine and his sons. The proud system of clerical honours and immunities, which had been constructed with so much art and labour, was levelled to the ground: the hopes of testamentary donations were intercepted by the rigour of the laws; and the priests of the Christian sect were confounded with the last and most

* Fragment. Julian. p. 286. He divides the *pagani* into three, (Epist. viii.) and so he has lost sight of the principle of toleration, as to which, (Epist. xlii.) I have already said.

† *Ne quis ecclesiam in conspectu christiani*

adversus, et in domo christiani, habitet.

These two lines, which Julian has changed and perverted in the first report of a light, (Epist. xlv.), are taken from the speech of Julian, when he refused to grant Constantine a fresh supply of wheat, (Olym. v. lib. Utensilio (Olym. Perenn. v. lib. p. 226) attempts to justify this partial behaviour, by an apology, in which persecution peeps through the thick of candour.

ignominious class of the people. Such of these regulations as appeared necessary to check the ambition and avarice of the ecclesiastics, were soon afterwards imitated by the wisdom of an orthodox prince. The peculiar distinctions which policy has bestowed, or superstition has lavished, on the sacerdotal order, need be confined to those priests who profess the religion of the state. But the will of the legislator was not exempt from prejudice and passion: and it was the object of the insidious policy of Julian, to deprive the Christians of all the temporal honours and advantages which rendered them respectable in the eyes of the world.

A just and severe censure has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric.¹ The motives alleged by the emperor to justify this partial and oppressive measure, might command, during his lifetime, the silence of slaves and the applause of flatterers. Julian abuses the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the *Gentiles*: he contemptuously observes, that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of science: and he vainly contends,

¹ Those laws which affected the clergy, may be found in the eighth book of *Justinian's Digest*, lib. viii. de legibus ecclesiasticis et hereticis, *Book III.* p. 106, 107, and in the positive constitutions of *Procopius*, lib. vi. c. 46.

² *Amphiloche*, . . . *episcopus* . . . *Constantinopolitani* . . . *ecclesie*, *Amphiloche*, *viii.* 10, 11, 12.

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that if they refuse to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Galileans.¹ In all the cities of the Roman world, the education of the youth was intrusted to masters of grammar and rhetoric: who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expence, and distinguished by many lucrative and honourable privileges. The edict of Julian appears to have included the physicians, and professors of all the liberal arts; and the emperor, who reserved to himself the approbation of the candidates, was authorized by the laws to corrupt, or to punish, the religious constancy of the most learned of the Christians.² As soon as the resignation of the more obstinate teachers had established the unrivalled dominion of the pagan sophists, Julian invited the rising generation to resort with freedom to the public schools, in a just confidence,

that their tender minds would receive the impression of literature and idolatry. If the greatest part of the Christian youth should be deterred by their own scruples, or by those of their parents, from accepting this dangerous mode of instruction, they must, at the same time, relinquish the benefits of a liberal education. Julian had reason to expect that, in the space of a few years, the church would relapse into its primeval simplicity; and that the theologians, who possessed an adequate share of the learning and eloquence of the age, would be succeeded by a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics, incapable of defending the truth of their own principles, or of exposing the various follies of Paganism.*

It was undoubtedly the wish and the design of Julian to deprive the Christians of the advantages of wealth, of knowledge, and of power; but the injustice of excluding them from all offices of trust and profit seems to have been the result of his general policy, rather than the immediate consequence of any positive law. Superior merit might deserve, and obtain, some extror-

inspired and supported by the Church.

* They had reason to be suspicious of composing books for their own schools. Within a few months Apollinarius produced his Christian history of Rome, he copied history in six books, Pindar, Pausanias, and Menander; and Socrates is accused; that they equalled, or excelled, the originals.

* It was the intention of Julian to his successors, (Epist. viii. *consequenter non mecum scribis et non ego sum* Socrates, O. c. 12.) and Socrates, O. iii. c. 11. must be referred to the standard of Socrates, O. iii. p. 247. but the power is exaggerated, but more illustrated by the actual knowledge of his contemporary readers.

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dinary exceptions; but the greater part of the Christian officers were gradually removed from their employments in the state, the army, and the provinces. The hopes of future candidates were extinguished by the declared partiality of a prince, who scilicetously reminded them, that it was unlawful for a Christian to use the sword, either of justice, or of war; and who studiously guarded the camp and the tribunals with the ensigns of idolatry. The powers of government were intrusted to the pagans, who professed an ardent zeal for the religion of their ancestors; and as the choice of the emperor was often directed by the rules of divination, the favourites whom he preferred as the most agreeable to the gods, did not always obtain the approbation of mankind. Under the administration of their enemies, the Christians had much to suffer, and more to apprehend. The temper of Julian was averse to cruelty; and the care of his reputation, which was exposed to the eyes of the universe, restrained the philosophic monarch from violating the laws of justice and toleration, which he himself had so recently established. But the provincial ministers of his authority were placed in a less conspicuous station. In the exercise of arbitrary power, they consulted the wishes, rather than the commands, of their sovereign; and ventured to exercise a secret and vexatious tyranny against the sectaries, on whom they

* *Vulpes fieri non debet rex, nec imperator.* — *Epistola ad Constantium, c. 28.*
p. 318.

were not permitted to confer the honours of martyrdom. The emperor, who dissembled as long as possible, his knowledge of the injustice that was exercised in his name, expressed his real sense of the conduct of his officers, by gentle reproofs and substantial rewards.*

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CONTINUED.

The most effectual instrument of oppression, with which they were armed, was the law that obliged the Christians to make full and ample satisfaction for the temples which they had destroyed under the preceding reign. The zeal of the triumphant church had not always expected the sanction of the public authority: and the bishops, who were secure of impunity, had often marched, at the head of their congregations, to attack and demolish the fortresses of the prince of darkness. The consecrated lands, which had increased the patrimony of the sovereign or of the clergy, were clearly defined, and easily restored. But on these lands, and on the ruins of pagan superstition, the Christians had frequently erected their own religious edifices; and as it was necessary to remove the church before the temple could be rebuilt, the justice and piety of the emperor were applauded by one party, while the other deplored and execrated his sacrilegious violence.† After the ground was cleared, the

They are
transmitted
to posterity
the pagan
temples.

* *Aug. Hist. Gen. lib. ix. c. 33, 34, 35.* Socrates, *l. vi. c. 13.* Theodoret, *l. iii. c. 10.* Some historians say, however, he did not for the violence of their zeal, but was partial to the sect of Julian.

† If we compare the gentle language of Libanius (*Orat. Forous. c. 88, p. 400*) with the passionate exclamations of Gregory, (*Orat. iii. p. 48, 49*), we may find it difficult to persuade ourselves that the 15th century are really describing the same events.

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restitution of those stately structures, which had been levelled with the dust; and of the precious ornaments, which had been converted to Christian uses: swelled into a very large account of damages and debt. The authors of the injury had neither the ability nor the inclination to discharge this accumulated demand: and the impartial wisdom of a legislator would have been displayed in balancing the adverse claims and complaints, by an equitable and temperate arbitration. But the whole empire, and particularly the east, was thrown into confusion by the rash edicts of Julian; and the pagan magistrates, inflamed by zeal and revenge, abused the rigorous privilege of the Roman law, which substitutes, in the place of his inadequate property, the person of the insolvent debtor. Under the preceding reign, Mark, bishop of Arethusa,¹ had laboured in the conversion of his people with arms more effectual than those of persuasion.² The magistrates required the full value of a temple which had been destroyed by his intolerant zeal: but as they were satisfied of his poverty,

¹ Eusebius, in *Atheniensis*, of the equal distress of *Antiochia* and *Arethusa* (which he twice names *Antiochia* and *Epiphania*), was founded, or at least rebuilt, by Seleucus Nicator. The period of its dates from the year of Rome 685, according to the records of the city. In the decline of the Seleucides, *Antiochia* and *Arethusa* were occupied by the Greek *Demetriani*, whose power, in the temple of *Bompe*, were not superadded to the ruins of *Vespasian*. See *Cassiodorus's* *Moyses* and *Gregorius's* *Antiochia*, tom. II. p. 122. *Wesseling's* *Antiochia*, p. 108, and *Nicetas Episcopi Syren* *Metaphrasis*, p. 60, 161, 162.

² Eusebius, l. vi. c. 10. *De* *Antiochia*, *Antiochia* *Gregorius* and *Thimotheus* should suppose a circumlocution, in their eyes, must have enhanced the religious merit of the apostle.

they desired only to bend his inflexible spirit to the promise of the slightest compensation. They apprehended the aged prelate; they inhumanly scourged him, they tore his beard; and his naked body, anointed with honey, was suspended, in a net, between heaven and earth, and exposed to the stings of insects and the rays of a Syrian sun.² From this lofty station, Mark still persisted to glory in his crime, and to insult the impotent rage of his persecutors. He was at length rescued from their hands, and dismissed to enjoy the honour of his divine triumph. The Arians celebrated the virtue of their pious confessor; the catholics ambitiously claimed his alliance;³ and the pagans, who might be susceptible of shame or remorse, were deterred from the repetition of such unvarailing cruelty.⁴ Julian spared his life; but if the bishop of Ares-

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² The sufferings and execution of Mark, which Eusebius has so magnificently painted, (Hist. iii. p. 58, 59), are confirmed by the contemporary and selectest evidence of Eusebius. He says, these accounts are everywhere, and he requires some witnesses, whose names he gives, (see below, p. 120, 121, where Wolf reads, 122).

³ Hieronymus, writing soon after the Christian emigration. It is true that Le Clerc and Wiles (and he is well explained a Good word, whose true signification had been mistaken by former interpreters, and even by Le Clerc. Hieronymus *Apologia ad Theodosium*, tom. iii. p. 371). That Theodosius is strongly qualified to understand (Moss. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 120) the Gregory and Theodoret could mistake a Semi-Arian bishop for a saint.

⁴ See the public advice of Sallust, (Geop. Nosteron. Gent. vi. 56, 57). Libanius detested his a similar advice, see *supra* above and many *Acts*; yet he allows that if there had occurred the second world, he desired to suffer and persecuted Martyrs: (see *Acts* above, (Epist. 126, p. 740-741).

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 SMITH will condemn the ingratitude, instead of praising
 the clemency, of the emperor.

The temple and sacred grove of Apollon.

At the distance of five miles from Antioch, the Macedonian kings of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant places of devotion in the pagan world.* A magnificent temple rose in honour of the god of light; and his colossal figure† almost filled the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists. The deity was represented in a beaming attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous *Harvest*; for the spot was ennobled by fiction: and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the *amorous tale* from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes. The ancient rites of Greece were imitated by the royal colony of Antioch. A stream of prophecy, which rivalled the truth and reputation of the Delphic oracle, flowed from the

* Gregory, *Oratio*, lib. vi. § 36, is satisfied that, by seeing the temple, Mark had observed what would have been his subject.

† The person and temple of Daphne are described by Lucian, *de vol.* p. 1029, 1031, 1034. Amel. *Itin.* lib. vi. § 14, 148. *Antioch*, *Oratio*, lib. vi. p. 360, 361, and *Symon*, lib. i. c. 16. *Wesseling* (*Itin.*, p. 281) and *Cassiodorus* (*de Hist. August.* p. 344) describe this various subject.

* *Ameliorum* is an *Orphic* and *Pythagorean* expression. *Amelior*, lib. 12. The *Orphic* Jupiter was dark and hairy, and his back was encompassed by that of a winged man. See a curious *Metamorphosis* of the *Altes Eichen*, *Ueber die Beschaffenheit*, tom. 16, p. 199.

Castalia fountain of *Daphne*.² In the adjacent fields a stadium was built by a special privilege,³ which had been purchased from Elis; the Olympic games were celebrated at the expense of the city; and a revenue of thirty thousand pounds sterling was annually applied to the public pleasures.⁴ The perpetual resort of pilgrims and spectators, insensibly formed, in the neighbourhood of the temple, the stately and populous village of *Daphne*, which emulated the splendor, without acquiring the title, of a provincial city. The temple and the village were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cypresses, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. A thousand streams of the purest water issuing from every hill, preserved the verdure of the

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.....

² Hadrian read the history of his Greek country, and a bad opinion of the *Castalian* stream, which, according to the physician *Varro*, his countryman, p. 191, 192, might be easily improved by chemical preparations. The emperor copied the image of that dangerous knowledge, which was spread by the alchemical curiosity of *Isidore*.

³ It was purchased, A. D. 84, in the year 59 of the era of *Antioch* (*Novæ* Epoca, *Syriacæ* p. 124-125), for the term of ninety Olympiads. But the Olympic games of *Antioch* were not regularly celebrated till the reign of *Diocletian*. See the curious dispute in the Chronicle of *John Malala*, tom. i. p. 225, 226, 227-231, a writer whose confused authority also prevailed within the limits of his native city.

⁴ Fifteen talents of gold, bequeathed by *Antiochus*, who died in the reign of *Augustus*. The theatrical music of the *Syrian* cities, in the age of *Constantine*, are compared to the *Cyprian* games. *Malala*, p. 2, *Whiston*, *Gregorian* Minst. tom. II.

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earth, and the temperature of the air; the seasons were gratified with harmonious sounds and aromatic odours; and the peaceful grove was consecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love. The vigorous youth pursued, like Apollo, the object of his desires; and the blushing maid was warned, by the fate of Daphne, to shun the folly of unseasonable coyness. The soldier and the philosopher wisely avoided the temptation of this sensual paradise; whose pleasure, assuming the character of religion, imperceptibly dissolved the firmness of manly virtue. But the groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the veneration of natives and strangers: the privileges of the holy ground were enlarged by the munificence of succeeding emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the splendour of the temple.*

Signs
and profe-
sion of
Daphne.

When Jullan, on the day of the annual festival, hastened to adore the Apollo of Daphne, his devotion was raised to the highest pitch of eagerness and impatience. His lively imagination anticipated the grateful pomp of victims, of libations, and of incense; a long procession of youths and virgins, clothed in white robes, the

* *Antiq. Acad. Syriacæ* legimus, *Sed* *hæc* *diffinitio* *in* *Daphnæ* *monachis*. These are the words of the famous *Maron* Antiochenus in an original letter transmitted by his biographer, in *Hist. August.* p. 41. *Quædam* *diffinitio* *in* *prohibet* *omnem* *virum* *qui* *venit* *ad* *Daphnē*.

* *Alapantus* *apud* *Daphnē* *monachis* *in* *Florus*, *2* *quæstio* *in* *epistolâ* *Sexti* *de* *debetur* *monachis* *qui* *in* *epistolâ* *debetur* *monachis*. *Epistolæ*, *2*, *14*. *Sexti* *Epistolæ*, *de* *debetur* *monachis*, *2*, *12*.

symbol of their innocence; and the tumultuous concourse of an immortal people. But the rest of Antioch was diverted, since the reign of Christianity, into a different channel. Instead of heretofore of fat oxen sacrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city, to their tutelary deity, the emperor complains that he found only a single goose, provided at the expense of a priest; the pale and solitary inhabitant of this decayed temple.* The altar was deserted, the oracle had been reduced to silence, and the holy ground was profaned by the introduction of Christian and funeral rites. After Babylas† (a bishop of Antioch, who died in prison in the persecution of Decius) had rested near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of the Cæsar Gallus, was transported into the midst of the grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the sacred lands was assigned for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the Christians of Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their bishop; and the priests of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As soon

* Julian (*Mémoires*, p. 331, 332) describes his own character with that severity, that unreserved simplicity, which almost constitutes genuine history.

† Babylas is named by Eusebius in the catalogue of the bishops of Antioch (*Hist. Eccles.* l. vi. c. 28, 29). His triumph over the emperor like his disciples, the church himself is difficult to be found by Chrysostom (*Hom. 2. p. 221-272*), etc. Montfaucon, *Telluræ (Mosa. Syria, tom. 2, part 2, p. 287-303, 316-322)* mentions Babylas's tomb.

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as another revolution seemed to restore the fortune of paganism, the church of St. Babylas was demolished, and new buildings were added to the mouldering edifice which had been raised by the piety of Syrian kings. But the first and most serious care of Julian was to deliver his oppressed deity from the odious presence of the dead and living Christians, who had so effectually suppressed the voice of fraud or enthusiasm.* The scene of infection was purified, according to the forms of ancient rituals: the bodies were decently removed; and the ministers of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch. The modest behaviour which might have assuaged the jealousy of an hostile government, was neglected on this occasion by the zeal of the Christians. The lofty car, that transported the relics of Babylas, was followed, and accompanied, and received, by an innumerable multitude: who chanted, with thundering acclamations, the Psalms of David the most expressive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the saint was a triumph; and the triumph was an insult on the religion of the emperor, who exerted his pride to disavow his resentment. During the night which terminated

*Removal of
 the dead
 bodies, and
 consecra-
 tion of the
 temple.*

* Ecclesiastical critics, particularly those who have fallen short in the confusion of Julian, (Mansueti, p. 2417) and Eusebius, (Nemes., p. 184), that Apollo was distressed by the stinks of one dead man. Yet Apollonius (Ibid., II) cures and purifies the whole people, according to the rites which the Athenians formerly practised in the tomb of Demos.

this indiscreet procession, the temple of Daphne was in flames: the statue of Apollo was consumed; and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Christians of Antioch asserted, with religious confidence, that the powerful intercession of St. Baryzæ had pointed the lightnings of heaven against the devoted roof: but as Julian was reduced to the alternative, of believing either a crime or a miracle, he chose, without hesitation, without evidence, but with some colour of probability, to impute the fire of Daphne to the revenge of the Galatians.* Their offence, had it been sufficiently proved, might have justified the retaliation which was immediately executed by the order of Julian, of shutting the doors, and confiscating the wealth, of the cathedral of Antioch. To discover the criminals who were guilty of the tumult, of the fire, or of secreting the riches of the church, several ecclesiastics were tortured;† and a presbyter, of the name of Theodoret, was beheaded by the sentence of the Count of the East. But this hasty act was blamed by

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Julian shuts the cathedral of Antioch.

* *Julian's Works*, p. 344 rather historians, than allegors, must grieve. Ammonius (p. 13) treats the supposition as incredible, &c. and related the story with *Julian's* story concludes.

† *Quædam* are not such reports, as examples, and it is very dangerous to prevent, or quædam agrees *Julian's* with *Julian's*, that *Julian* blames the history of the persecution of Antioch, or *Julian's* christianism Antiochian church. This introduction was performed with some circumstances of indignity and pollution; and the miserable death of the presbyter, *Julian's* words, is related with much indignation and complacency by the *Abbe de la Motte*. *Vie de Julien*, p. 307.

capit. 238d.

 the emperor: who lamented, with real or affected concern, that the ingratitude zeal of his ministers would tarnish his reign with the disgrace of persecution.*

The zeal of the ministers of Julian was instantly checked by the frown of their sovereign: but when the father of his country declares himself the leader of a faction, the licence of popular fury cannot easily be restrained, nor consistently punished. Julian, in a public composition, applauds the devotion and loyalty of the holy cities of Syria, whose pious inhabitants had destroyed, at the first signal, the sepulchres of the Gallilæans; and faintly complains, that they had revenged the injuries of the gods with less moderation than he should have recommended. This imperfect and reluctant confession may appear to confirm the ecclesiastical narratives; that in the cities of Gaza, Ascalon, Caesarea, Heliopolis, &c. the pagans abused, without prudence or remorse, the moment of their prosperity. That the unhappy objects of their cruelty were released from torture only by death: that as their mangled bodies were dragged through the streets, they were pierced (such was the universal rage) by the spits of cooks, and the darts of enraged women; and that the entrails of Christian priests and virgins, after they had been tasted by those

* Could our ecclesiastical historians, who are more at home in the subject, not say more of the justice of St. Theodoret's assertion of the date of the massacre of Julian, p. 381. The description of Julian gives it an original and exclusive air.

* Julian's *Misopagans*, p. 361.

bloody famines, were mixed with barley, and contemptuously thrown to the unclean animals of the city.* Such scenes of religious madness exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature; but the massacre of Alexandria attracts still more attention, from the certainty of the fact, the rank of the victims, and the splendor of the capital of Egypt.

George,[†] from his parents or his education, ^{George of Cappadocia} corrupted the Cappadocian, was born at Epiphania in Cilicia, in a fuller's shop. From this obscure and servile origin he raised himself by the talents of a parasite; and the patrons, whom he assiduously flattered, procured for their worthless dependant, a lucrative commission, or contract, to supply the army with lances. His employment was mean; he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were so notorious, that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice. After this disgrace, in which he appears to have saved his fortune at the expense of his honour, he em-

* See *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Works*, iii. p. 874. *Strabon*, li. c. p. 51 may be considered as a temperate, though not impartial, witness. He was a native of Asia, and had conversed with the Romans. *Geogr. viii. c. 10*, in which it is stated that he was the first of his kindred, *li. c. vi. p. 126*. *Plutarch*, *li. c. vi. p. 4*, with Claudius's observations, p. 194; who seems to give considerable credit to Claudius's story, who was himself a senator of the rank of the gods, &c.

† The life and death of George of Cappadocia are described by *Ammonius*, *anti. 11*; *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Works*, viii. p. 585, 587, 588, 589, and *Epiphanius*, *Works*, lxxvi. The treatment of the two saints might not deserve much credit, unless they were supported by the testimony of the civil and imperial history.

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oppression
Alexan-
dria and
Egypt.

braced, with real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism. From the love, or the ostentation, of learning, he collected a valuable library of history, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology; and the choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Athanasius. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified, by nature and education, to exercise the office of persecution; but he oppressed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his extensive diocese. The primate of Egypt assumed the pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the views of his mean and servile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust, and almost universal, monopoly, which he acquired, of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, &c. and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to practise the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax, which he suggested, on all the houses of

* After the death of George, the emperor Julian expressly sent orders to preserve the library for his own use, and to punish the slaves who might be suspected of removing any books. He paid the wages of the scribes, from whom he had borrowed and transcribed several manuscripts while he pursued his studies in Cappadocia. He could not indeed shut the volume of the *Testaments* against parties; but he requires no exact account even of those Christian volumes, for other transcripts more valuable should be carefully deposited in their place. *Amos. Epist. ix. ceter.*

the city, under an obsolete claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Caesars, the perpetual property of the soil. The pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excited his devout avarice; and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or insulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed, in a loud and threatening tone,—“How long will these sepulchres be permitted to stand?” Under the reign of Constantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle, that the civil and military powers of the state could restore his authority, and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the accession of Julian, announced the downfall of the archbishop. George, with two of his obsequious ministers, Count Diodorus, and Dracontius, master of the mint, were ignominiously dragged in chains to the public prison. At the end of twenty-four days, the prison was forced open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings. The enemies of gods and men expired under their cruel insults; the lifeless bodies of the archbishop and his associates were carried in triumph through the streets on the back of a camel; and the inactivity of the Athanasian party¹ was esteemed a shining example of

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XXIII.
CONSTANTINE.

A. D. 331,
Nov. 30.

It is narrated by
the people.

Dec. 21.

¹ Philostorgius, with various names, imputes their guilt, *on re Athanasios, quoniam sperniturum non crederet*, l. vii. c. 24. Gosselin, p. 307.

of Cappadocia has been transformed¹ into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter.²

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And was
supposed to
be a saint and
martyr.

About the same time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edessa, that the proud and wealthy faction of the Arians had insulted the weakness of the Valentinians, and committed such disorders as ought not to be suffered with impunity in a well-regulated state. Without expecting the slow forms of justice, the exasperated prince directed his mandate to the magistrates of Edessa,³ by which he confiscated the whole property of the church: the money was distributed among the soldiers; the lands were added to the domain; and this act of oppression was aggravated by the most ungenerous irony—"I shew myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galileans. Their *admirable* law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor: and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and salvation, when they are relieved by my assistance from the load of

¹ This transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as extremely probable. See the Longperrieres, tom. I. p. 134.

² A curious history of the worship of St. George, from the sixth century, (when he was already venerated in Palestine, in Armenia, at Rome, and at Treves in Gaul), might be extracted from Dr. Beyer, History of St. George, An edition, London, 1622, in 8vo, p. 477, and the Hollander, Act 88. Mens. April. tom. 64, p. 260-263. His name and popularity in Europe, and especially in England, proceeded from the Crusades.

³ Julian, Epist. ciii.

CHAP. "temporal possessions. Take care," pursued the monarch in a more serious tone, "take care how you provide my palace and household. If these disorders continue, I will * revenge on the magistrates the crimes of the people; and you will have reason to dread not only combustion and exile, but fire and the sword." The insults of Alexandria were doubtless of a more bloody and dangerous nature; but a Christian bishop had fallen by the hands of the pagans; and the public epistle of Julian affords a very lively proof of the partial spirit of his administration. His reproaches to the citizens of Alexandria are mingled with expressions of esteem and tenderness; and he laments, that on this occasion they should have departed from the gentle and generous manners which attended their Grecian extraction. He severely reprimands the offence which they had committed against the laws of justice and humanity; but he recapitulates, with visible complacency, the intolerable provocations which they had so long endured from the impious tyranny of George of Cappadocia. Julian admits the principle, that a wise and vigorous government should chastise the insolence of the people; yet, in consideration of their founder, Alexander, and of Serapis, their tutelary deity, he grants a free and gracious pardon to the guilty city, for which he again feels the affection of a brother.*

* Julian, *Epist. 2*. He ordered his friends to arrange his papers. *Antiqu. lib. 17*.

After the tumult of Meletius's trial subsided, Athanasius, amidst the public clamours, seated himself on the throne from whence his unworthy competitor had been precipitated: and as the zeal of the arbitration was tempered with discretion, the exercise of his authority tended not to inflame, but to tranquillise, the minds of the people. His pastoral labours were not confined to the narrow limits of Egypt. The state of the Christian world was present to his active and capacious mind; and the age, the merit, the reputation of Athanasius, enabled him to assume, in a moment of danger, the office of Ecclesiastical Doctor. Three years were not yet elapsed since the majority of the bishops of the West had ignorantly, or reluctantly, subscribed the confession of Rimini. They repented, they believed, but they dreaded the unreasonable rigour of their orthodox brethren; and if their pride was stronger than their faith, they might throw themselves into the arms of the Arians, to escape the indignity of a public penance, which must degrade them to the condition of obscure laymen. At the same time, the domestic differences concerning the union and distinction of the divine persons, were agitated with some heat among the Catholic doctors; and the progress of this metaphysical controversy seemed to

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[illegible]

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¹ See *Archives of Health*, vol. 2, p. 102, 112, and *Comp. Marine*, vol. 1, p. 292, 1896, which justify the treatment used in the present case with some modifications that are proposed. See *Arch. de Pharm.*, &c.

CHAP.
XIII.
THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

threaten a public and lasting division of the Greek and Latin churches. By the wisdom of a select synod, to which the name and presence of Athanasius gave the authority of a general council, the bishops, who had unwarily deviated into error, were admitted to the communion of the church, on the easy condition of subscribing the Nicene creed, without any formal acknowledgment of their past fault, or any minute definition of their scholastic opinions. The advice of the primate of Egypt had already prepared the clergy of Gaul and Spain, of Italy and Greece, for the reception of this salutary measure; and, notwithstanding the opposition of some ardent spirits,* the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmony of the Christians.[†]

The skill and diligence of the primate of Egypt had improved the season of tranquillity, before it was interrupted by the hostile edicts of the emperor.[‡] Julian, who despised the Christians,

He is represented
and was
called by
Julian,
A. D. 362,
Nov. 23.

* I have not leisure to follow the blind testimony of Lucien of Laodicea. See his adulation in Tillmanns, *Opusc. Ecclésiast.* vol. vi. p. 260, 261; and observe how the colour of the narrative (necessarily changed, as the evidence becomes a schismatic).

† Athanasius was first against the Council, vi. p. 100, where we find something, however, without much reason. The early and well-known Dialogue of Jerome against the Councils, *Tract. de p. 134-135*, exhibits an original picture of the ecclesiastical policy of the times.

‡ Tillmanns, who expresses that George was imprisoned in August, credits the account of Athanasius (in a notice upon *Opusc. Ecclésiast.* vol. vi. p. 260). See *Original fragments*, published by the marquis de Launay, from the MS. Chapter Library of Vernon, *Opusc. Ecclésiast.* vol. vi. p. 260-261, which many important details, which are corroborated by the contemporary of Egyptian sources.

honoured Athanasius with his sincere and peculiar hatred. For his sake alone, he introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant at least to the spirit of his former declarations. He maintained, that the Galileans, whom he had recalled from exile, were not restored, by that general indulgence, to the possession of their respective churches: and he expressed his astonishment, that a criminal, who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgment of the emperors, should dare to insult the majesty of the laws, and insolently usurp the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria, without expecting the orders of his sovereign. As a punishment for the imaginary offence, he again banished Athanasius from the city: and he was pleased to suppose, that this act of justice would be highly agreeable to his pious subjects. The pressing solicitations of the people soon convinced him, that the majority of the Alexandrians were Christians; and that the greatest part of the Christians were firmly attached to the cause of their oppressed primate. But the knowledge of their sentiments, instead of persuading him to recall his decree, provoked him to extend to all Egypt the term of the exile of Athanasius. The zeal of the multitude rendered Julian still more inexorable: he was alarmed by the danger of leaving at the head of a tumultuous city a daring and popular leader; and the language of his resentment discovers the opinion which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanasius. The execution of the sentence was still

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delayed, by the caution or negligence of Eusebius, prefect of Egypt, who was at length awakened from his lethargy by a severe reprimand. "Though
"you neglect," says Julian, "to write to me on
"any other subject, at least it is your duty to in-
"form me of your conduct towards Athanasius,
"the enemy of the gods. My intentions have
"been long since communicated to you. I
"swear by the great Serapis, that unless, on
"the calends of December, Athanasius has de-
"parted from Alexandria, may from Egypt, the
"officers of your government shall pay a fine of
"one hundred pounds of gold. You know my
"temper: I am slow to condemn, but I am still
"slower to forgive." This epistle was enforced
by a lusty phœscript, written with the emperor's
own hand. "The contempt that is shewn for
"all the gods fills me with grief and indignation.
"There is nothing that I should see, nothing
"that I should hear, with more pleasure, than the
"expulsion of Athanasius from all Egypt. The
"abominable wretch! Under my reign, the hap-
"piness of several Grecian ladies of the highest
"rank has been the victim of his persecutions.
The death of Athanasius was not expressly com-
manded; but the prefect of Egypt understood, that
it was safer for him to obey, than to neglect,
the orders of an irritated master. The archbishop
prudently retired to the monasteries of the desert.

"The judge, a villainous flatterer of your person, has ob-
scured his own justice. I have preserved the indulgence even of
the last word, the indulgence of a tyrant who wished to kill, or to
prove guilt."

aimed, with his usual dexterity, the sword of the enemy: and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince, who, in words of formidable import, had declared his wish that the whole essence of the Gallican school were contained in the single person of Athanasius.¹

I have endeavoured faithfully to represent the artful system by which Julian proposed to obtain the effects, without incurring the guilt, or reproach, of persecution. But if the deadly spirit of fanaticism perverted the heart and understanding of a virtuous prince, it must, at the same time, be confessed, that the real sufferings of the Christians were influenced and magnified by human passions and religious enthusiasm. The meekness and resignation which had distinguished the primitive disciples of the gospel, was the object of the applause, rather than of the imitation, of their successors. The Christians, who had now possessed above forty years the civil and ecclesiastical government of the empire, had contracted the basest vices of prosperity;² and the habit of believing that the saints alone were entitled to reign over the earth. As soon as the enmity of Julian deprived the clergy of the privi-

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Real and
Fiction-
Cause of
the Great
Schism

¹ The three Epistles of Julian, which contain his invectives and conflict with regard to Athanasius, should be disposed in the following chronological order: vol. i. p. 75. See *History of the Nicene Council*, vol. p. 221; *Macmillan*, l. 4, c. 14; *Macmillan*, l. 4, c. 14; *Macmillan*, l. 4, c. 14; and *Macmillan*, l. 4, c. 14. See also *Macmillan*, l. 4, c. 14; and *Macmillan*, l. 4, c. 14.

² See the late conclusion of Gregory, *Mont.* iv. p. 31. 43v.

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leges which had been conferred by the favour of Constantine, they complained of the most cruel oppression: and the free toleration of idolaters and heretics was a subject of grief and scandal to the orthodox party.* The acts of violence, which were no longer countenanced by the magistrates, were still committed by the zeal of the people. At Pessinus, the altar of Cybele was overturned almost in the presence of the emperor; and in the city of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the temple of Fortune, the sole place of worship which had been left to the pagans, was destroyed by the rage of a popular tumult. On these occasions, a prince, who felt for the honour of the gods, was not disposed to interrupt the course of justice; and his mind was still more deeply exasperated, when he found, that the fanatics, who had deserved and suffered the punishment of incendiaries, were rewarded with the honours of martyrdom.† The Christian subjects of Julian were assured of the hostile designs of their sovereign; and, to their jealous apprehension, every circumstance of his government might afford some grounds of discontent and suspicion. In the ordinary administration of the laws, the Christians, who formed so large a

* Hence the famous and absurd complaint of Optatus, *de Schismate*, Bearn. l. p. c. 16, 17.

† Orig. *Maximianus*, *tract. iii.* p. 51; *ib.* p. 122. He praises the system of Constantine, even to the persecution and slaughter of heretics: *See Maximian*, l. v. c. 11. *Talmonius* (*idem*, *tract. i.* c. vii. p. 446) hath even said their behaviour was not, since Julian's accession; but he is perfectly satisfied, as the great St. Basil always celebrated the festival of these blessed martyrs.

part of the people, must frequently be condemned: but their indulgent brethren, without examining the merits of the cause, presumed their innocence, allowed their claims, and imputed the severity of their judge to the partial malice of religious persecution.* These present hardships, intolerable as they might appear, were represented as a slight prelude of the impending calamities. The Christians considered Julian as a cruel and crafty tyrant: who suspended the execution of his revenge, till he should return victorious from the Persian war. They expected, that as soon as he had triumphed over the foreign enemies of Rome, he would lay aside the irksome mask of dissimulation; that the amphitheatres would stream with the blood of hermits and bishops; and that the Christians, who still persevered in the profession of the faith, would be deprived of the common benefits of nature and society.[†] Every calumny[‡] that could wound the reputation of the Apostate, was

* Julian determined a law-suit against the new Christian city of Maimon, the people of which and his customs, thought it would be improper to digest; and were never decreed by his successors. — *Symon*, l. vi. c. 31. — *Beland*, *Palætop.* tom. ii. p. 181.

† *Gregory* (*Opp.* iii. p. 33, 94, 82; *Orat.* iv. p. 114) pretends to speak from the subscription of Julian's confessions, when Origen (*con.* 30) could not have seen.

‡ *Gregory* (*Opp.* iii. p. 81) charges the Apostate with error, assertions of boys and girls, and positively asserts, that the dead bodies were thrown into the Ocean. — See *Theodoret*, l. iii. c. 16, 17, and the episcopal council of the *Alde de la Bapen*, *Vie de Julien*, p. 311, 312. Notwithstanding neither could not impose on Julian the design of martyrdom, more especially in the West, which deserves no greater supplies, and Libanius so justly regrets, (*Max. Theod.* tom. vi. p. 1293-1313).

CHAP. credulously influenced by the fears and hatred of
 XXIII. his adversaries: and their indiscreet clamours
 provoked the temper of a sovereign, whom it was
 their duty to respect, and their interest to flatter.
 They still protested, that prayers and tears were
 their only weapons against the impious tyrant,
 whose head they devoted to the justice of offended
 Heaven. But they intimated, with sullen resolu-
 tion, that their submission was no longer the ef-
 fect of weakness; and that, in the imperfect state
 of human virtue, the patience, which is founded
 on principle, may be exhausted by persecution. It
 is impossible to determine how far the zeal of Jul-
 ian would have prevailed over his good sense and
 humanity; but, if we seriously reflect on the
 strength and spirit of the church, we shall be
 convinced, that, before the emperor could have
 extinguished the religion of Christ, he must have
 involved his country in the horrors of a civil
 war.

* The resignation of Gregory is well known, *ibid.* ii. p. 122. 123. Yet, what an effect *Julian* attempted to make the church at Constantinople, he would have lost his aim, if he had not supplied in the zeal of the bishop and people, *ibid.* vii. p. 306. See the operations of Chrysostom, as they are related by Theodoret, *ibid.* i. c. 12. 13.

CHAP. XXIV.

Exile of Julia at Antioch—His successful expedition against the Persians—Poverty of the Tyrant—The retreat and death of Julian—Election of Jovian—He saves the Roman army by a disgraceful treaty.

THE philosophical fable which Julian composed under the name of the *Cassian*,^a is one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit.^b During the freedom and equality of the days of the Saturnalia, Roms- his prepared a feast for the deities of Olympus, who had adopted him as a worthy associate, and for the Roman princes, who had reigned over his mortal people, and the vanquished nations of the earth. The immortals were placed in just order on their thrones of state, and the table of the *Cassian* was spread below the Moon,

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XXIV.

THE CAS-
SIAN OF JULI-
AN.

^a The title *Cassian* is taken, as I observed in the English edition of Julian's works. The French edition of the learned Father Desmaisons (Paris, 1686) is corrupt, negligent, and incorrect and in many places, illustrations do not stand on each other till they form a mass of 127 superfluous quaternary pages. The title is in French (*Wu de Cassian*, tome 2, p. 245) and has been happily explained the same, as well as the sense of the original, which he illustrates with much accuracy and various notes.

^b Julianus did the poetical but more liberally translated the very same, which is a translation, but a more correct of the Greek original, a common poem, which was added after the emperor and the Latin version from Erasmus a more liberal translation, which he gave as verse. But the French edition are of such an original error, that the whole is perverted by which even he should amend them.

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in the upper region of the air. The tyrants, who would have disgraced the society of gods and men, were thrown headlong, by the inexorable Nemesis, into the Tartarean abyss. The rest of the Cæsars successively advanced to their seats; and, as they passed, the vices, the defects, the blemishes of their respective characters, were manifestly noticed by old Silenus, a laughing moralist, who disguised the wisdom of a philosopher under the mask of a bacchanal.¹ As soon as the feast was ended, the voice of Mercury proclaimed the will of Jupiter, that a celestial crown should be the reward of superior merit. Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were selected as the most illustrious candidates; the effeminate Constantine² was not excluded from this honourable competition, and the great Alexander was invited to dispute the prize of glory with the Roman heroes. Each of the candidates was allowed to display the merit of his own exploits; but, in the judgment of the gods, the modest silence of Marcus pleaded more powerfully than the elaborate orations of his haughty rivals. When the judges of this awful contest proceeded to examine the heart, and to scrutinize the springs of action: the superiority of the imperial stole appeared still

¹ This mixed character of Silenus is finely painted in the sixth *Eclogue* of Virgil.

² Every impartial reader must perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian against his uncle Constantine, and the Christian religion. On this occasion, the interpreters are compelled, by a most sacred interest, to renounce their allegiance, and to desert the cause of their author.

more decisive and conspicuous.* Alexander and Caesar, Augustus, Trajan, and Constantine, acknowledged with a blush, that fame, or power, or pleasure, had been the important object of *their* labours: but the gods themselves behold, with reverence and love, a virtuous mortal, who had practised on the throne the lessons of philosophy: and who, in a state of human imperfection, had aspired to imitate the moral attributes of the deity. The value of this agreeable composition (the *Cæsars of Julian*) is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince, who delineates with freedom the vices and virtues of his predecessors, subscribes, in every line, the censure or approbation of his own conduct.

In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the useful and benevolent virtues of Antoninus: but his ambitious spirit was inflamed by the glory of Alexander; and he solicited, with equal ardour, the esteem of the wise, and the applause of the multitude. In the season of life, when the powers of the mind and body enjoy the most active vigour, the emperor, who was instructed by the experience, and animated by the success, of the German war, resolved to signalize his reign by some more splendid and memorable achievement. The ambassadors of

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XXIV.

He resolves
to convert to de-
posit the
Providence.
A. D. 367.

* Julian was secretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But while he seriously compared a hero with a philosopher, he was sensible that mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander, (H. G. of Theodoretus, p. 254.)

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XXIV.

[Continued.]

resisted and insulted the majesty of Rome.) As soon as the Persian monarch was informed that the throne of Constantine was filled by a prince of a very different character, he condescended to make some artful, or perhaps sincere, overtures, towards a negotiation of peace. But the pride of Super was rebuffed by the firmness of Julian, who sternly declared, that he would never consent to hold a peaceful conference among the flames and ruins of the cities of Mesopotamia; and who added, with a smile of contempt, that it was needless to treat by ambassadors, as he himself had determined to visit speedily the court of Persia. The impatience of the emperor urged the diligence of the military preparations. The generals were named; a formidable army was destined for this important service; and Julian, marching from Constantinople through the provinces of Asia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months after the death of his predecessor. His ardent desire to march into the heart of Persia, was checked by the indispensable duty of regulating the state of the empire; by his zeal to revive the worship of the gods; and by the advice of his wisest friends, who represented the necessity of allowing the salutary interval of winter-quarters, to restore the exhausted strength

¹ Alexander sent into the East Constantine who dispossessed the Sasanians and made it an eastern empire, that Constantine and Julian lost the Persian provinces and that the Persians, in a war of three hundred years, had not subdued the single province of Mesopotamia or Syria (see Hume, p. 271).

CHAP. of the legions of Gaul, and the discipline and
 XXIV. spirit of the eastern troops. Julian was per-
 suaded to fix, till the ensuing spring, his resi-
 dence at Antioch, among a people maliciously
 disposed to deride the haste, and to censure the
 delays, of their sovereign.³

*Julian pro-
 ceeds from
 Constanti-
 nople to
 Antioch,
 August.
 Eusebius
 mentions
 of the pro-
 ceed of Jul-
 ian.*

If Julian had flattered himself, that his per-
 sonal connection with the capital of the East
 would be productive of mutual satisfaction to
 the prince and people, he made a very false
 estimate of his own character, and of the manners
 of Antioch.⁴ The warmth of the climate dis-
 posed the natives to the most intemperate en-
 joyment of tranquillity and opulence; and the
 lively licentiousness of the Greeks was blended
 with the hereditary softness of the Syrians. Fa-
 shion was the only law, pleasure the only pur-
 suit, and the splendour of dress and furniture
 was the only distinction of the citizens of An-
 tioch. The arts of luxury were honoured; the
 serious and manly virtues were the subject of
 ridicule; and the contempt for female modesty
 and reverent age, announced the universal cor-
 ruption of the capital of the East. The love of
 spectacles was the taste, or rather passion, of the
 Syrians: the most skillful artists were procural

³ The design of the Persian war is declared by Ammianus, l. viii. c. 12; Eusebius, *Orat. Funer.* c. 13, 30, p. 205, 306; Zosimus, ii. c. 13, p. 138, and *Procopius*, ii. ii. c. 16.

⁴ The *Salle de Jellie*, and the *Hamam* or St. Christopher, &c. had the same picture of Antioch. The manners which the *Chatelet de Bittere* has copied from Greece (*Voy. de Judée*, p. 228) is copied with errors.

from the adjacent cities; a considerable share of the revenue was devoted to the public amusements; and the magnificence of the games of the theatre and circus was considered as the happiness, and as the glory of Antioch. The rustic manners of a prince who disdained such glory, and was inaccessible of such happiness, soon disgusted the delicacy of his subjects; and the effeminate Orientals could neither imitate, nor admire, the severe simplicity which Julian always maintained, and sometimes affected. The days of festivity, consecrated by ancient custom to the honour of the gods, were the only occasions in which Julian relaxed his philosophic severity; and those festivals were the only days in which the Syrians of Antioch could reject the allurements of pleasure. The majority of the people supported the glory of the Christian name, which had been first invented by their ancestors; they contented themselves with disobeying the moral precepts, but they were scrupulously attached to the speculative doctrines of their religion. The church of Antioch was distracted by heresy and schism; but the Arians and the Athanasians, the

* Luciani furnished the names: Tyre and Berytus, *synagoga*; Caesarea, *synagoga*; Heliopolis, *synagoga*; Gaza, *synagoga*; Acre, *synagoga*; and Caesarea, *synagoga*. See the *Epistola in fine* *Monachi*, p. 6. In the third book of *Hieronymus* *Monachi* *Geographia*.

* *Epistola in fine* *Monachi* *Geographia*, p. 6. The people of Antioch indignantly professed their attachment to the *Chalcedonensis* and the *Epistola*, *Monachi* *Geographia*, p. 6.

CHAP. XXIV. followers of Melchius and those of Paulinus,* were actuated by the same pious hatred of their common adversary.

These events
went to Jul.
Iren.

The strongest prejudice was entertained against the character of an apostate, the enemy and successor of a prince who had engaged the affections of a very numerous sect; and the removal of St. Basilas excited an implacable opposition to the person of Julian. His subjects complained, with superstitious indignation, that famine had pursued the emperor's steps from Constantinople to Antioch; and the discontent of a hungry people was exasperated by the injudicious attempt to relieve their distress. The inclemency of the season had affected the harvests of Syria; and the price of bread,† in the markets of Antioch, had naturally risen in proportion to the scarcity of corn. But the fair and reasonable proportion was soon violated by the rapacious

scarcity of
corn, and
public dis-
content.

* The schism of Antioch, which lasted eighty-five years, (A. D. 220-315), was continued, while Julian reigned in that city, by the incessant objections of Paulinus. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclesiast.* tom. viii. p. 408, of the epistol. edition, (Paris, 1710), from which I have drawn and I shall quote.

† Lullius states three different proportions of 2*rs.* 1*ss.* of bread sold at Antioch, for one pound of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity. See *Macroped.* p. 389*s.* From this fact, and from some historical examples, I conclude, also, under the circumstances of Constantinople, the moderate price of wheat amounted thirty-two shillings the English quarter, which is equal to the average price of the staple diet and meat of the present century. See *Robertson's Tables of Coins, Weights, and Measures*, p. 48, 49. *Proc. Hist. Natur.* viii. 1*e.* *Opus de Constantinensi deservificatione*, tom. xxviii. p. 128, 129. Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Growth of Nations, vol. i. p. 216. Till now I am permitted to quote, in the words of a sage and a friend,

arts of monopoly. In this unequal contest, in which the produce of the land is claimed by one party, as his exclusive property; is used by another as a lucrative object of trade; and is required by a third, for the daily and necessary support of life; all the profits of the intermediate agents are accumulated on the head of the defenceless consumers. The hardships of their situation were exaggerated and increased by their own impatience and anxiety; and the apprehension of a scarcity gradually produced the appearances of a famine. When the luxurious citizens of Antioch complained of the high price of poultry and fish, Julian publicly declared, that a frugal city ought to be satisfied with a regular supply of wine, oil, and bread; but he acknowledged, that it was the duty of a sovereign to provide for the subsistence of his people. With this salutary view, the emperor ventured on a very dangerous and doubtful step, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. He enacted, that, in a time of scarcity, it should be sold at a price which had seldom been known in the most plentiful years; and that his own example might strengthen his laws, he went into the market four hundred and twenty-two thousand *modii*, or measures, which were drawn by his order from the granaries of Hierapolis, of Chalcis, and even of Egypt. The consequences might have been foreseen, and were soon felt. The imperial wheat was purchased by the rich merchants; the proprietors of land, or of corn, withheld from

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the city the accustomed supply: and the small quantities that appeared in the market were secretly sold at an advanced and illegal price. Julian still continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and ungrateful murmur, and exasperated Antioch that he had inherited the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallus.¹ The remonstrances of the municipal senate served only to corroborate his inflexible mind. He was persuaded, perhaps with truth, that the senators of Antioch who possessed lands, or were concerned in trade, had themselves contributed to the calamities of their country; and he imputed the disrespectful boldness which they assumed, to the want, not of public duty, but of private interest. The whole body, consisting of two hundred of the most noble and wealthy citizens, were sent under a guard from the palace to the prison; and though they were permitted, before the close of evening, to return to their respective houses,² the emperor himself could not obtain the forgiveness which he had so easily granted. The same grievances were still the subject of the same complaints, which were industriously circulated by the wit and levity of the Syrian Greeks.

¹ *Nicomache* a popular satirist, *Quæ sunt Antiochia, sunt libertas*. *Armen.* vol. 11. The ignorance of the most enlightened writers may render some events less, yet cannot be withheld when Julian's were defined, in *Nicomache* p. 256, 258, or the different species of *Libertas*. *Orat. Paganæ* c. xxi. p. 211.

² That clause and deep condemnation is greatly justified by Libanius, *Orat. Paganæ* c. xxi. p. 212, 213.

During the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the streets of the city resounded with insolent songs; which derided the laws, the religion, the personal conduct, and even the *honor*, of the emperor; and the spirit of Antioch was manifested by the connivance of the magistrates, and the applause of the 'mob-student.' The disciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by these popular insults; but the monarch, endowed with quick sensibility, and possessed of absolute power, refused his pardon as the gratification of revenge. A tyrant might have proscribed, without distinction, the lives and fortunes of the citizens of Antioch; and the cowardlike Syrians must have pathetically submitted to the lust, the rapaciousness, and the cruelty, of the faithful legions of Gaul. A milder sentence might have deprived the capital of the East of its honours and privileges; and the courtiers, perhaps the subjects, of Julian, would have applauded an act of justice, which asserted the dignity of the supreme magistrate of the republic.* But instead of abasing, or exerting, the authority of the state, to revenge his personal injuries, Julian contented himself with an inoffensive mode of retaliation, which it would

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C. Thompson
a. 1898
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¹⁴ I. Hansen, ed. *Ammonius ad Imperatorem* (1912), II, 16, 18, 30. Hansen, *ibid.*, trans. vol. 1, p. 222-223, *Engakurō shōmushō*, correctly interprets the tale of the people who suffered for the effect of a few ounces and drachms of silver.

³ *Telethon* Ltd. *Telethon*, 4, 116, p. 323; reminds *Telethon* of the former incarnation of *Telethon* and even *Julian* (in *Telethon*, p. 323) *Telethon* has even *Telethon* had *Telethon* the *Telethon* to the *Telethon* *Telethon*.

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be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been insulted by satires and libels; in his turn he composed, under the title of the *Flaming of the Barbed*, an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe satire of the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This imperial reply was publicly exposed before the gates of the palace; and the *Misogroon** still remains a singular monument of the resentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indelicacy, of Julian. Though he affected to laugh, he could not forgive.† His contempt was expressed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nomination of a governor‡ worthy only of such subjects: and the emperor, for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his resolution to pass the ensuing winter at Tarsus in Cilicia.‡

* On the subject of the *Misogroon*, see *Ammonius*, *vi*, 117; *Themistius*, *Oratio Panathenica*, &c. *vi*, 325; George Nectarius, *Oratio*, &c. p. 126; and the *Chronicon* of Antioch, by John Mehus, *tom. II.* p. 15, 16. These essential allusions to the translation and name of the libel of *Misogroon* (or *to Julian*, *tom. ii.* p. 16, 168).

† *Ammonius*, *vi*, 117; *Themistius*, *Oratio Panathenica*, &c. *vi*, 325; George Nectarius, *Oratio*, &c. p. 126; and the *Chronicon* of Antioch, by John Mehus, *tom. II.* p. 15, 16. These essential allusions to the translation and name of the libel of *Misogroon* (or *to Julian*, *tom. ii.* p. 16, 168).

‡ *Ammonius*, *vi*, 117; *Themistius*, *Oratio Panathenica*, &c. *vi*, 325; George Nectarius, *Oratio*, &c. p. 126; and the *Chronicon* of Antioch, by John Mehus, *tom. II.* p. 15, 16. These essential allusions to the translation and name of the libel of *Misogroon* (or *to Julian*, *tom. ii.* p. 16, 168).

§ *Julian*, in *Misogroon*, p. 344; *Ammonius*, *vi*, 117; and *Valentinus*, *ad* *Julianum*, in *Themistius*, *Oratio Panathenica*, &c. *vi*, 325; George Nectarius, *Oratio*, &c. p. 126; and the *Chronicon* of Antioch, by John Mehus, *tom. II.* p. 15, 16. These essential allusions to the translation and name of the libel of *Misogroon* (or *to Julian*, *tom. ii.* p. 16, 168).

Yet Antioch possessed one citizen, whose genius and virtues reigned alone, in the opinion of Julian, for the vice and folly of his country. The sophist Libanius was born in the capital of the East: he publicly professed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Constantinople, Athens, and, during the remainder of his life, at Antioch. His school was assiduously frequented by the Grecian youth; his disciples, who sometimes exceeded the number of eighty, celebrated their incomparable master; and the jealousy of his rivals, who persecuted him from one city to another, confirmed the favourable opinion which Libanius ostentatiously displayed of his superior merit. The preceptors of Julian had extorted a rash but solemn assurance, that he would never attend the lectures of their adversary: the curiosity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed: he secretly procured the writings of this dangerous sophist, and gradually surpassed, in the perfect imitation of his style, the most laborious of his domestic pupils.* When Julian ascended the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian sophist, who had preserved, in a degenerate age, the Grecian purity of taste, of manners, and of religion. The emperor's prepossession was increased and justified by the discreet pride of his favourite. Instead of pressing, with the foremost of the crowd, into

CHAP.
XXIV.

The em-
peror's Li-
beral edu-
cation.

A. D.
313-390,
A.C.

* Libanius, *deus. Presb. et v. p. 113, p. 114, 115.*

CHAP.
XXIV.
CONTINUED.

the palace of Constantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch: withdrew from court on the first symptoms of coldness and indifference; required a formal invitation for each visit; and taught his sovereign no important lesson, that he might command the obedience of a subject, but that he must deserve the attachment of a friend. The sophists of every age, despising, or affecting to despise, the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune,* reserve their esteem for the superior qualities of the mind, with which they themselves are so plentifully endowed. Julian might disdain the acclamations of a venal court, who adored the imperial purple; but he was deeply flattered by the praise, the admiration, the freedom, and the envy of an independent philosopher, who returned his favours, loved his person, celebrated his fame, and protected his memory. The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist: for the most part, they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator, who cultivated the science of words; the productions of a recluse student, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war, and the Athenian commonwealth. Yet the sophist of Antioch sometimes descended from this imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate

* Eusebius reports, that Libanius refused the honorary rank of *patrician* proconsul, as less illustrious than the title of *consul*, *see* *Vita* *Juliani*, p. 132. The critics have observed a greater weakness in one of the speeches (*see* *note* *W*) of Libanius *ibid.*

correspondence; he praised the virtues of his own times; he boldly assigned the blame of public and private life; and he eloquently pleaded the cause of Antioch against the just resentment of Julian and Theodosius. It is the common calamity of old age,* to lose whatever might have rendered it desirable: but Libanius experienced the peculiar misfortune of surviving the religion and the sciences, to which he had consecrated his genius. The friend of Julian was an indignant spectator of the triumph of Christianity; and his bigotry, which darkened the prospect of the visible world, did not inspire Libanius with any lively hopes of celestial glory and happiness.

The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field in the beginning of the spring; and he dismissed, with contempt and reproach, the senate of Antioch, who accompanied the

CHAR.
XXIV.

March of
Julian to
the Euphrates
A. D. 363,
March 2.

* Some two thousand of his letters, a mass of composition in which Libanius was thought to excel, are still extant, and already printed. The editors may judge their value and degree of purity; yet Dr. Beza's *Adnotationes upon Phalaris*, p. 367, which judge, though unfairly, observe, that "you had by the emphasis and business of them, that art and science, with some declining intellect, as with the others, so but not."

† His birth is assigned to the year 314. He received the consular sash from the emperor in the year 359, and seems to have been seventy of a still less age.

‡ Libanius has surpassed the vulgar praise, his exact narrative of the war has, *tom. 8, p. 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.*



CHIEF superior beyond the limits of their own territory, to which he was resolved never to return. After a fatiguing march of two days, he halted on the third, at Beryta, or Aleppo, where he had the mortification of finding a senate almost entirely Christian, who received with cold and formal demonstrations of respect, the eloquent sermon of the apostle of paganism. The son of one of the most illustrious citizens of Beryta, who had embraced, either from interest or conscience, the religion of the emperor, was disinherited by his angry parent. The father and the son were invited to the imperial table. Julius placing himself between them, attempted, without success, to incite the lesson and example of toleration; supported, with affected calmness, the indignant zeal of the aged Christian, who seemed to forget the sentiments of nature, and the duty of a subject; and at length turning towards the afflicted youth,—“Since you have lost a father,” said he, “for my sake, it is incumbent on me “to supply his place.”² The emperor was received in a manner much more agreeable to his wishes at Hirtane, a small town pleasantly situated

¹ From Antioch to Laodicea, on the territory of Clabbe (see note, ante, p. 151), and through numerous, was extremely hilly and the horses almost were consumed only with need. Julius spent twelve. It is singular enough, that the Romans should have supposed the great communication between Antioch and the Euphrates. See Waddington, *Itinera*, p. 155. Buryan, *Hist. des Grands Chémis*, tom. ii. p. 105.

² Julius alludes to this incident, *Epist. xxviii.*, which is more fully related by Theophrastus, *lib. vi.*, p. 322. The language spoken of the father is approved by Tiliander, (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 274), and even by Le Beau, (*Vie de Julius*, p. 112).

in a grove of cypresses, about twenty miles from the city of Hierapolis. The solemn rites of sacrifice were devoutly performed by the inhabitants of Iliaster, who seemed attached to the worship of their tutelar deities, Apollo and Jupiter; but the serious piety of Julian was offended by the tumult of their applauses; and he too clearly discerned, that the smoke which arose from these altars was the incense of flattery, rather than of devotion. The ancient and insignificant temple, which had sanctified, for so many ages, the city of Hierapolis,* no longer subsisted; and the consecrated wealth, which afforded a liberal maintenance to more than three hundred priests, might hasten its downfall. Yet Julian enjoyed the satisfaction of embracing a philosopher and a friend, whose religious firmness had withstood the pressing and repeated solicitations of Constantine and Gallus, as often as those princes halted at his house, in their passage through Hierapolis. In the hurry of military preparation, and the careless confidence of a familiar correspondence, the zeal of Julian appears to have been lively and uniform. He had now undertaken an important and difficult war; and the anxiety of the event rendered him still more attentive to observe and register the most trifling presages, from which, according to the rules of divination, any knowledge of futurity could be

* See the curious tradition de Diod Syrac, inserted among the works of Lucian, *trans.* 64, p. 445-499, with Thesley. The singular appellation of *Iliaster* rather than *Iliaster*, 415, We might infer a conjecture that Hierapolis had been the royal seat of the *Antigonians*.

CHAP. derived.* He informed Libanius of his progress
 XXV. as far as Hierapolis, by an elegant epistle,[†] which
 displays the facility of his genius, and his tender
 friendship for the sophist of Antioch.

His design of travelling
 Persia. Hierapolis, situate almost on the banks of the
 Euphrates,[‡] had been appointed for the general
 rendezvous of the Roman troops, who immedi-
 ately passed the great river on a bridge of boats,
 which was previously constructed. If the in-
 clinations of Julian had been similar to those of
 his predecessor, he might have wasted the active
 and important season of the year in the circuits of
 Samosata, or in the churches of Edessa. But as
 the wretched emperor, instead of Constantine, had
 chosen Alexander for his model, he advanced
 without delay to Carrhe,[§] a very ancient city of
 Mesopotamia, at the distance of fourscore miles
 from Hierapolis. The temple of the Moon at-
 tracted the devotion of Julian; but the bulk of a
 few days was principally employed in completing

* Julian's epist. xviii. kept a regular account of, all the fortunate
 success; but he suppresses the misadventures, which distressed
 him. It has happily survived.

† See Julian's epist. xviii. p. 398-402.

‡ I take the exact opportunity of acknowledging my obli-
 gation to M. d'Anville, for his exact geography of the Euphrates and
 Tigris, *Chron. 1749*, in this, which particularly illustrates the ap-
 plication of Julian.

§ There are three passages within a few miles of each other;
 1. Zorah, situated to the south; 2. Bey, dependent by the
 natives; and 3. The bridge of Muske, or Hierosolima, at the
 distance of four parases from the city.

¶ Hieros, or Cartha, was the ancient residence of the Nabatei,
 and of Adiabene. See the latter Geographical of Strabo, and
 ptolemy. Vol. iii. ch. x. a work from which I have obtained much
 Oriental knowledge, concerning the ancient and modern geography
 of Syria and the adjacent countries.

the immense preparations of the Persian war. The secret of the expedition had hitherto remained in his own breast; but as Carthage is the point of separation of the two great roads, he could no longer conceal, whether it was his design to attack the dominions of Sapor on the side of the Tigris, or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of his kinsman Procopius, and of Sebastian, who had been duke of Egypt. They were ordered to direct their march towards Nisibis, and to secure the frontier from the desultory incursions of the enemy, before they attempted the passage of the Tigris. Their subsequent operations were left to the discretion of the generals; but Julian expected, that after wasting with fire and sword the fertile districts of Mesila and Adiabene, they might arrive under the walls of Ctesiphon about the same time, that he himself, advancing with equal steps along the banks of the Euphrates, should besiege the capital of the Persian monarchy. The success of this well-concerted plan depended, in a great measure, on the powerful and ready assistance of the king of Armenia, who, without exposing the safety of his own dominions, might detach an army of four thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, to the assistance of the Romans. But the feeble Arsaces Ti-

Disaffec-
tion of the
king of
Armenia

¹ See Xenophon, *Cyropedia*, l. vi, p. 180, edit. Hestlinus. Artabanus might have supplied Mithridates with 10,000 horse, armed and disciplined after the Persian manner, (Plutarch, in M. Antonin. Ann. v, p. 171.)

CHAP. XXXV.
 TIRIDATES, king of Armenia, had degenerated still more diametrically than his father Cloaces, from the manly virtues of the great Tiridates; and as the pusillanimous monarch was averse to any enterprise of danger and glory, he could disguise his timid inebriety by the more silent exercises of religion and gratitude. He expressed a pious attachment to the memory of Constantine, from whose hands he had received in marriage Olympius, the daughter of the prefect Ablabius; and the alliance of a female, who had been educated as the destined wife of the emperor Constant, exalted the dignity of a barbarian king.* Tirmas professed the Christian religion; he reigned over a nation of Christians; and he was restrained by every principle of conscience and interest, from contributing to the victory, which would communicate the ruin of the church. The alienated mind of Tirmas was exasperated by the insolence of Julian, who treated the king of Armenia as his slave, and as the enemy of the gods. The haughty and threatening style of the imperial mandates[†] awakened the secret indig-

* *Notes of Constant* (Hist. Armenien, l. ii. c. 4), p. 142. Also see *Annals* (v. 18. 33), of the 15th year of Constantine.

† *Constantine*, cap. 13. *Ammonius* (Hist. l. p. 404) says, he proved true, that Constantine gave his father's robes and scepter to Olympius given as tribute to a Roman than a Christian.

† *Ammonius* (Hist. p. 404) says, and which was just the character, received. *History of Constantine*, Bohn's ed. (1825), p. 27. It has published an appendix and letters to the same Constantine, which, says, and which it might have been, l. vi. c. 12. Most probably genuine. L. *Ammonius* (Hist. de Constantine, l. p. 277) says, and which is

nation of a prince, who, in the humiliating state of dependence, was still conscious of his royal descent from the Arsacides, the lords of the East, and the rivals of the Roman power.

The military dispositions of Julian were skillfully contrived to deceive the spies, and to divert the attention of Sapor. The legions appeared to direct their march towards Nisibis and the Tigris. On a sudden they wheeled to the right; traversed the level and naked plain of Carrion; and reached, on the third day, the banks of the Euphrates, where the strong town of Nisibis, or Callinicum, had been founded by the Macedonian kings. From thence the emperor pursued his march, above ninety miles, along the winding stream of the Euphrates, till, at length, about one month after his departure from Antioch, he discovered the towers of Ctesium, the extreme limit of the Roman dominion. The army of Julian, the most numerous that any of the *Cæsars* had ever led against Persia, consisted of sixty-five thousand effective and well-disciplined soldiers. The veteran bands of cavalry and infantry, of Romans and barbarians, had been selected from the different provinces; and a just pre-eminence of loyalty and valour was claimed by the hardy Gauls, who guarded the throne and person of their beloved prince. A formidable body of Scythian auxiliaries had been transported from another climate, and almost from another world, to invade a distant country, of whose name and situation they were ignorant. The love of rapine and war allured

CHAP.
XXIV.

Military
expedition
thence

OH AP.
XIII.

to the imperial standard several tribes of Sarmatians, or roving Arabs, whose service Julian had commanded, while he sternly refused the payment of the accustomed subsidies. The broad channel of the Euphrates was crowded by a fleet of eleven hundred ships, destined to attend the motions, and to satisfy the wants of the Roman army. The military strength of the fleet was composed of fifty armed galleys; and these were accompanied by an equal number of flat-bottomed boats, which might occasionally be connected into the form of temporary bridges. The rest of the ships, partly constructed of timber, and partly covered with raw hides, were laden with an almost inexhaustible supply of arms and engines, of utensils and provisions. The vigilant humanity of Julian had embarked a very large magazine of slaughter and blood for the use of the soldiers, but he prohibited the indulgence of wine, and rigorously stopped a long string of superfluous caravans that attempted to follow the rear of the army. The river Chaboras falls into the Euphrates at Ctesiphon.

* *Callinectes* *donneri* *Exopalaemon* *pyralis*. *Armenia*, vol. 2. *Illustration* *Figures*. 20 (2nd Ed.) of *Tring*, the next is from the sea, at 600 yards, about 1881 on *Exopalaemon*, *donneri*, *Callinectes* *pyralis*, 1, p. 11, ed. *Hutchinson*, with *Forster's* *Phaenocarpa*, p. 29, 82 in the 88 volume of *Spizella's* *transformation*. At the *British* of the *Mythology* of the *and* *Tring* is in *more* than 124 *grids*, (*Vergil* de *Nicolaus*, vol. II, p. 1233, 124 *trifolium* *diffusion* *more* *thick* *area* *from* *the* *depth* *of* *the* *channel*).

* *Macromastix ballmanni* at first position, *scuticaria* above. Of the 12 species, seven Chlamydia or Chlamydiae or Erythrinae, including *Erythrina*, were optically identified. Amongst them, *Macromastix ballmanni* and *scuticaria* were identified.

and as soon as the trumpet gave the signal of march, the Romans passed the little stream which separated two mighty and hostile empires. The custom of ancient discipline required a military cession; and Julian embraced every opportunity of displaying his eloquence. He animated the impatient and attentive legions by the example of the indelible courage and glorious triumphs of their ancestors. He excited their resentment by a lively picture of the insolence of the Persians; and he exhorted them to imitate his firm resolution, either to extirpate that perfidious nation, or to devote his life in the cause of the republic. The eloquence of Julian was enforced by a donation of one hundred and thirty pieces of silver to every soldier; and the bridge of the Chalarus was instantly cut away, to convince the troops that they must place their hopes of safety in the success of their arms. Yet the presence of the emperor induced him to secure a remote frontier, perpetually exposed to the incursions of the hostile Arabs. A detachment of four thousand men was left at Circesium, which completed, to the number of ten thousand, the regular garrison of that important fortress.*

From the moment that the Romans entered the enemy's country,^b the dignity of an active

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Julian enters the Persian territory, April 7.

His march into the heart of Persia.

* The enterprise and retreat of Julian are described by Ammian. lib. xxviii. *Antiquorum Historiae*, lib. 28, c. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

^b Before the Roman Persia Adimianus Augustus describes c. 11. lib. 2, p. 100-112, and, Cassius in 440, the highest great emperor, 801, 15.

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and arduous enemy, the order of march was disposed in three columns.¹ The strength of the infantry, and consequently of the whole army, was placed in the centre, under the peculiar command of their master-general Victor. On the right, the brave Nevitta led a column of several legions along the banks of the Euphrates, and almost always in sight of the fleet. The left flank of the army was protected by the column of cavalry. Hormisdas and Ariathas were appointed generals of the horse; and the singular adventures of Hormisdas² are not undeserving of our notice. He was a Persian prince, of the royal race of the Sassanides, who, in the troubles of the minority of Sapor, had escaped from prison to the hospitable court of the great Constantine. Hormisdas at first excited the compassion, and at length acquired the esteem, of his new masters: his valour and fidelity raised him to the military honours of the Roman service; and, though a Christian, he might indulge the secret satisfaction of convincing his ungrateful country, that an oppressed subject may prove the most dangerous enemy. Such was the disposition of the three principal columns. The front and

as provisions for far as the Euphrates or Chinese frontiers, which were subject to the prohibition.

¹ *Armeniacus* Dux, 14 and *Eastman* l. iii. p. 108. This last is curiously witnessed the effect of march.

² The adventures of Hormisdas are related with some measure of truth, *Armeniacus* l. iii. p. 108-104. *William* Hist. des Empereurs, tom. 19, p. 171. It is almost impossible that he should be the hero, that *Armeniacus* is of an noble and passionate mind; nor do I recollect that *Armeniacus* ever gave him that title.

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troops of the army were covered by Lucillianus with a flying detachment of fifteen hundred light-armed soldiers, whose active vigilance observed the most distant signs, and conveyed the earliest notice of any hostile approach. Dagalaiphus, and Secundianus duke of Osroene, conducted the troops of the rear-guard; the baggage, securely, proceeded in the intervals of the columns; and the ranks, from a motive either of use or ostentation, were formed in such open order, that the whole line of march extended almost ten miles. The ordinary post of Julian was at the head of the centre column: but as he preferred the duties of a general to the state of a monarch, he rapidly moved, with a small escort of light cavalry, to the front, the rear, the flanks, wherever his presence could animate or protect the march of the Roman army. The country which they traversed, from the Clabores to the cultivated lands of Assyria, may be considered as a part of the desert of Arabia, a dry and barren waste, which could never be improved by the most powerful arts of human industry. Julian marched over the same ground which had been trod above seven hundred years before by the footsteps of the conqueror Cyrus, and which is described by one of the companions of his expedition, the sage and heroic Xerophon.* "The country was a plain

* See the first book of the *Periplus*, p. 42, 43. This passage which is ancient and authentic. Yet Xerophon's journey, perhaps thirty years after the expedition, has some things changed here; and the distances which he speaks are often larger than either a soldier or a geographer will allow.

THAT, "throughout, as even as the sea, and full of
 XXIV. "intermixed; and if any other kind of shrubs
 "or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic
 "smell; but no trees could be seen. Bustards
 "and ostriches, antelopes and wild asses,* ap-
 "peared to be the only inhabitants of the desert;
 "and the fatigues of the march were alleviated
 "by the amusements of the chase." The loose
 sand of the desert was frequently raised by the
 wind into clouds of dust; and a great number
 of the soldiers of Julian, with their tents, were
 suddenly thrown to the ground by the violence
 of an unexpected hurricane.

His march
 toward

The sandy plains of Mesopotamia were abun-
 dant to the antelopes and wild asses of the
 desert; but a variety of populous towns and vil-
 lages were pleasantly situated on the banks of the
 Euphrates, and in the islands which are occa-
 sionally formed by that river. The city of An-
 ush, or Anatho, the actual residence of an
 Arabian emir, is composed of two long streets,
 which inclose, within a natural fortification, a
 small island in the midst, and two fruitful spots
 on either side, of the Euphrates. The warlike
 inhabitants of Anatho shewed a disposition to

* *See Spelman, the English translation of the Arabian, vol. I. c. p. 514, who bounds the antelope with the ostrich, and the wild ass with the camel.*

† *See Voyage de Tavernier, part I. l. III. p. 215, and more especially Voyage de Pausanias Valla, tom. I. l. III. col. p. 634. An. He was lieutenant of the old man and consisted of Arabs. One high mountain yellow, presents my precious knowledge of the mountains which they call. Shaw and Tavernier shew it an immense mountain.*

stop the march of a Roman emperor: till they were diverted from such fatal presumption, by the mild exhortations of pious Homiadas, and the approaching terrors of the first auxiliary. They implor'd, and experienced, the clemency of Julian, who transplanted the people to an advantageous settlement near Chalcis in Syria, and admitted Pusaus, the governor, to an honourable rank in his service and friendship. But the impregnable fortress of Thulutha could scorn the menace of a siege; and the emperor was oblig'd to content himself with an insulting promise, that when he had subdued the interior provinces of Persia, Thulutha would no longer refuse to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The inhabitants of the open towns, unable to resist, and unwilling to yield, fled with precipitation: and their houses, filled with spoil and provisions, were occupied by the soldiers of Julian, who massacred, without remorse, and without punishment, some defenceless women. During the march, the Suremas, or Persian general, and Malek Rodasaces, the renowned emir of the tribe of Gassan,* incessantly hovered round the army: every straggler was intercepted; every detachment was attacked; and the valiant Homiadas escaped with some difficulty from their

* Farwell mistakes here, says Anonymus, the high command for an army. The tribe of Gassan had settled on the edge of Syria, and retained relations to Damascus, under a dynasty of thirty-one kings, at least, from the time of Pompey to that of the Khalif Omayyad. Uthman, *El-Makharri* Desvaulx, p. 166. *French* *Spelman* Hist. Antiqua, p. 1114. The name of Rodasaces does not appear in the list.

CHAP. hands: But the barbarians were finally repulsed; XXIV.
the country became every day less favourable to the operations of cavalry: and when the Romans arrived at Macepracta, they perceived the ruins of the wall, which had been constructed by the ancient kings of Assyria, to secure their dominions from the incursions of the Medes. These preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days; and we may compute near three hundred miles from the frontiers of Ctesiphon to the wall of Macepracta.*

Descrip-
tion of
Assyria.

The fertile province of Assyria,^b which stretched beyond the Tigris, as far as the mountains of Media,^c extended about four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Macepracta to the territory of Berra, where the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris discharge themselves into the Persian gulf.^d The whole country

* See the translation, vol. i. p. 110. (Hist. Præsent. c. 110. H. c. 3711.) Zosimus, il. c. p. 166, 167.

^b The description of Assyria is borrowed by Herodotus, il. i. c. 191. &c. & is sometimes copied for others, and sometimes for the translators; by Strabo, (l. vii. p. 1073-1082, and by Aelianus, lib. xii. c. 6.) The most useful of the modern dissertations Taverney, *quæst. i. l. 3. p. 225-235*; Ousey, *trans. ii. p. 33-39*, and 198-204, and Maschke, *trans. ii. p. 112-166*. Yet I much regret that the *best* *word* of Alabada has not been translated.

^c Ammianus remarks, that the province Assyria, which comprehended Nimæ (Nisibis) and Arbela, had assumed the more recent and familiar appellation of Adjapene; and he names, as its Tadmor, Vologarda, and Apollonia, as the eastern cities of the actual province of Assyria.

^d The two rivers issue at Apamea, or Farsa, then running, under the Persian gulf, into the great stream of the Euxinus, or Black Sea. The population formerly peaked (and is by a recent census, which was observed and directed by the British of Oudeh, some twenty miles to the south-east of modern Bagdad) (W. A. 1814, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. xxi. p. 370-391).

might have claimed the peculiar name of Mesopotamia; as the two rivers, which are never more distant than fifty, approach, between Bagdad and Babylon, within twenty-five miles of each other. A multitude of artificial canals, dug without much labour in a soft and yielding soil, connected the rivers, and intersected the plain of Assyria. The uses of these artificial canals were various and important. They served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the season of their respective inundations. Subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands, and supplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce; and as the dams could be speedily broke down, they armed the despair of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army. To the soil and climate of Assyria, nature had denied some of her choicest gifts, the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree; but the food which supports the life of man, and particularly wheat and barley, were produced with inexhaustible fertility; and the husbandman, who committed his seed to the earth, was frequently rewarded with an increase of two, or even of three, hundred. The face of the country was interspersed with groves of innumerable palm-trees;¹ and the diligent natives celebrated, either in verse or prose, the

THAT
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¹ The famous Hanging, as a monument, antiquity, and a relic, has retained the name. Eudoxus, *facile est*, is possible the whole subject of palm-trees.



CHAP. three hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk,
XXIV. the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the
fruit, were skilfully applied. Several manufactures, especially those of leather and linen, employed the industry of a numerous people, and afforded valuable materials for foreign trade: which appears, however, to have been conducted by the hands of strangers. Babylon had been converted into a royal park: but near the ruins of the ancient capital, new cities had successively arisen, and the populousness of the country was displayed in the multitude of towns and villages, which were built of bricks, dried in the sun, and strongly cemented with bitumen: the natural and peculiar production of the Babylonian soil. While the successors of Cyrus reigned over Asia, the province of Assyria alone maintained, during a third-part of the year, the luxurious plenty of the table and household of the Great King. Four considerable villages were assigned for the subsistence of his Indian dogs: eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares, were constantly kept, at the expense of the country, for the royal stables: and as the daily tribute which was paid to the satrap, amounted to one English bushel of silver, we may compute the annual revenue of Assyria at more than twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling.¹

¹ Assyria yielded to the Persian empire, an *Arabe* of silver each day. The well-known proportion of weight and measure, (see *Bartholomæus's elaborate Inquiry*), the specific gravity of water and silver, and the value of that metal, will afford, after a short process, the desired revenue: which I have stated. Yet the Great King re-
valent

The fields of Assyria were devoted by Julian CH. IV. NO. IV. to the calamities of war; and the philosopher retaliated on a faithless people the acts of rapine and cruelty, which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. The Division of Assyria, A. D. 363. trembling Assyrians summoned the rivers to their assistance; and completed, with their own hands, the ruin of their country. The roads were rendered impracticable; a flood of waters was poured into the camp; and, during several days, the troops of Julian were obliged to contend with the most discouraging hardships. But every obstacle was surmounted by the perseverance of the legions, who were hurried to toll as well as to danger, and who felt themselves animated by the spirit of their leader. The damage was gradually repaired; the waters were restored to their proper channels; whole groves of palm-trees were cut down, and placed along the broken parts of the road; and the army passed over the broad and deeper channels, on bridges of floating rafts, which were supported by the help of bladders. Two thirds of Assyria presumed to resist the arms of a Roman emperor: and they both paid the severe penalty of their rashness. At the distance of fifty miles from the royal residence of Ctesiphon, Perisabor, or Anbar, held

See of Perisabor.

valued no more than 1500 talents, or 150,000 (150,000) sesterces. The comparison of two pounds in Shadrach's (150,000) is 150,000, is 20,000, reveals an important difference between the gold and the silver currency of Persia: the value paid by the province, and the gold or silver deposited in the royal treasury. The monarch might actually sink three millions six hundred thousand pounds, at the expense of eighteen millions raised upon the people.

CHAP. the second rank in the province: a city, large,
XIV. populous, and well fortified, surrounded with a
double wall, almost encompassed by a branch of
the Euphrates, and defended by the valour of
a numerous garrison. The exhortations of Hormisdas were repulsed with contempt; and the
cours of the Persian prince were wounded by a
just reproach, that, unworthy of his royal birth,
he conducted an army of strangers against his
king and country. The Assyrians maintained
their loyalty by a skilful, as well as vigorous,
defence; till the lucky stroke of a battering ram
having opened a large breach, they hastily retired
into the fortifications of the interior citadel. The
soldiers of Julian rushed impetuously into the
town, and, after the full gratification of every
military appetite, Persepolis was reduced to ashes;
and the engines which assailed the citadel were
planted on the ruins of the smoking houses.
The contest was continued by an incessant and
mutual discharge of missile weapons; and the
superiority which the Romans might derive from
the mechanical powers of their ballista and catapulta
was counterbalanced by the advantage of
the ground on the side of the besieged. But as
soon as an *helepolis* had been constructed, which
could engage on equal terms with the loftiest
ramparts, the tremendous aspect of a moving
tower, that would leave no hope of resistance or
of mercy, terrified the defenders of the citadel
into an humble submission; and the place was
surrendered only two days after Julian first ap-

perished under the walls of Perisabor. Two thousand five hundred persons, of both sexes, the feeble remnant of a flourishing people, were permitted to retire: the plentiful magazines of corn, of arms, and of splendid furniture, were partly distributed among the troops, and partly reserved for the public service: the useless stores were destroyed by fire, or thrown into the stream of the Euphrates; and the fate of Amida was revenged by the total ruin of Perisabor.

The city, or rather fortress, of Maogamalcha, of Maogamalcha. which was defended by sixteen large towers, a deep ditch, and two strong and solid walls of brick and bitumen, appears to have been constructed at the distance of eleven miles, as the safeguard of the capital of Persia. The emperor, apprehensive of leaving such an important fortress in his rear, immediately formed the siege of Maogamalcha: and the Roman army was distributed, for that purpose, into three divisions. Victor, at the head of the cavalry, and of a detachment of heavy-armed foot, was ordered to clear the country, as far as the banks of the Tigris, and the suburbs of Ctesiphon. The conduct of the attack was assumed by Julian himself, who seemed to place his whole dependence in the military engines which he erected against the walls; while he secretly contrived a more efficacious method of introducing his troops into the heart of the city. Under the direction of Nevitta and Hagabishus, the trenches were opened at a considerable distance, and gradually prolonged as far as the edge of the ditch. The

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ditch was speedily filled with earth; and, by the incessant labours of the troops, a mine was carried under the foundations of the walls, and sustained, at sufficient intervals, by props of timber. Three chosen cohorts, advancing in a single file, silently explored the dark and dangerous passage; till their Imperial leader whispered back the intelligence, that he was ready to issue from his confinement into the streets of the hostile city. Julian checked their ardour, that he might insure their success; and immediately diverted the attention of the garrison, by the tumult and clamour of a general assault. The Persians, who, from their walls, contemptuously beheld the progress of an impotent attack, celebrated, with songs of triumph, the glory of Sapor; and ventured to assure the emperor, that he might ascend the starry mansion of Ormuzd, before he could hope to take the impregnable city of Maa-gasabcha. The city was already taken. History has recorded the name of a private soldier, the first who ascended from the mine into a deserted tower. The passage was widened by his companions, who pressed forwards with impatient valour. Fifteen hundred enemies were already in the midst of the city. The astonished garrison abandoned the walls, and their only hope of safety; the gates were instantly burst open; and the revenge of the soldier, unless it were suspended by lust or avarice, was satiated by an undistinguishing massacre. The governor, who had yielded on a promise of mercy, was burnt

nitive; a few days afterwards, on a charge of having uttered some disrespectful words against the honour of prince Hormisdas. The fortifications were razed to the ground; and not a vestige was left, that the city of Maggamalcha had ever existed. The neighbourhood of the capital of Persia was adorned with three stately palaces, laboriously enriched with every production that could gratify the luxury and pride of an eastern monarch. The pleasant situation of the gardens along the banks of the Tigris, was improved, according to the Persian taste, by the symmetry of flowers, fountains, and shady walks; and spacious parks were inclosed for the reception of the bears, lions, and wild boars, which were maintained at a considerable expence for the pleasure of the royal chase. The park-walls were broke down, the savage game was abandoned to the darts of the soldiers, and the palaces of Sapor were reduced to ashes, by the command of the Roman emperor. Julian, on this occasion, shewed himself ignorant, or careless, of the laws of civility, which the prudence and refinement of polished ages have established between hostile princes. Yet these wanton ravages need not excite in our breasts any vehement emotions of pity or resentment. A simple, naked statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more genuine value than all these rude and costly monuments of barbaric labour; and if we are more deeply affected by the ruin of a palace, than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity must have

CHAP. XXIV. formed a very erroneous estimate of the miseries of human life.¹

Pyrrhus's
behaviour
of Julian.

Julian was an object of terror and hatred to the Persians; and the painters of that nation represented the invader of their country under the emblem of a furious lion, who vomited from his mouth a consuming fire.² To his friends and soldiers, the philosopher here appeared in a more amiable light; and his virtues were never more conspicuously displayed, than in the last, and most active, period of his life. He practised, without effort, and almost without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and sobriety. According to the dictates of that artificial wisdom, which assumes an absolute dominion over the mind and body, he sternly refused himself the indulgence of the most natural appetites.³ In the warm climate of Assyria, which solicited a luxurious people to the gratification of every sensual desire, a youthful conqueror preserved his chastity pure and inviolate; nor was Julian

¹ The operations of the Assyrian war are circumstantially related by Ammianus, lxxiv. §. 3. §. 5; Eusebius, *Hist. Persar.* c. lxxv-lxxvii, p. 334-341; Zosimus, c. vi. p. 168-180; and Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* vi. p. 112, 113. The military pretensions of the east are diversely copied by Titianus, his faithful slave.

² *Discours de saint Julien* 1700, c. vi. p. 102.

³ The Greek examples of Cyrus, Alexander, and Scipio, were a kind of justice. Julian's chastity was voluntary, and, in his opinion, necessary.

⁴ *Ballin's* sup. *Vet. Scholæ. Journal*, Jan. 1, 1765, observes, that wild corrupting machines. The natives and virgins of Babylon flow, (mingled with the men, in frigidum tempera) and as they fill the imagination of men and boys they gradually, and almost insensibly, throw aside the constraints of dress; at which time they possess a valuable property. *Id. Cartes*, v. 1.

ever tempted, even by a native of curiosity, to visit his female captives of exquisite beauty,* who, instead of resisting his power, would have disputed with each other the honour of his embraces. With the same firmness that he resisted the allurements of love, he sustained the hardships of war. When the Romans marched through the flat and flooded country, their sovereign, on foot, at the head of his legions, shared their fatigues, and animated their diligence. In every useful labour, the hand of Julian was prompt and strenuous; and the imperial purple was wet and dirty, as the coarse garment of the common soldier. The two sieges allowed him some remarkable opportunities of signalizing his personal valour, which, in the improved state of the military art, can seldom be exerted by a prudent general. The emperor stood before the rampart of Perisabor, insensible of his extreme danger, and encouraged his troops to burst open the gates of Ima, till he was almost overwhelmed under a cloud of missile weapons, and huge stones, that were directed against his person. As he examined the extensive fortifications of Maccanaleha, two Persians, devoting themselves for their country, suddenly rushed upon him with drawn cut-throats: the emperor dexterously received their blows on his uplifted shield; and,

* *P. A. virginiana* is very rare specimen, small, appears to be *P. viridis* with immature, pubescent, shining, not somewhat elongate, reddish brown, yellowish, brown, etc. The entire type of *P. viridis* is small and appears to have been improved, by the *P. viridis* of *P. A. virginiana*, (Hesselt, 1861, p. 177; *Mones*, 1861, *Mones*, 1861, p. 170).

" tranquility of the barbarians. The revenue
 " is exhausted; the cities are ruined; the pro-
 " vinces are despoiled: For myself, the only
 " inheritance that I have received from my royal
 " ancestors, is a soul incapable of fear; and as
 " long as I am convinced that every real advan-
 " tage is seated in the mind, I shall not blush to
 " acknowledge an honourable poverty, which,
 " in the days of ancient virtue, was considered
 " as the glory of Fabricius. That glory, and that
 " virtue, may be your own, if you will listen to
 " the voice of Heaven, and of your leader. But
 " if you will rashly persist, if you are determined
 " to renew the shameful and mischievous ex-
 " amples of old seditions, proceed: As it becomes
 " an emperor who has filled the first rank among
 " men, I am prepared to die, standing; and to
 " despise a precarious life, which, every hour,
 " may depend on an accidental fever. If I have
 " been found unworthy of the command, there
 " are now among you, (I speak it with pride and
 " pleasure), there are many chiefs, whose merit
 " and experience are equal to the conduct of the
 " most important war. Such has been the tem-
 " per of my reign, that I can retire without
 " regret, and without apprehension, to the
 " obscurity of a private station." The un-
 " dermost resolution of Julian was answered by the
 " unanimous applause and cheerful obedience of
 " the Romans; who declared their confidence of

* I give this speech as original and genuine. Ammianus might
 have, with reason, and was sensible of flattering it. I have
 not some slight freedoms, and conclude with the most forcible sen-
 tence.

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—————

victory, while they fought under the banners of their heroic prince. Their courage was kindled by his frequent and familiar asseverations, (for such wishes were the oaths of Julian), "So may I reduce the Persians under the yoke!" "Thus may I restore the strength and splendour of the republic!" The love of fame was the ardent passion of his soul; but it was not before he trampled on the ruins of Maogamalcha, that he allowed himself to say,—*"We have now provided some materials for the sophist of Antioch."*

He transports his feet from the Phrygians to the Tigris.

The successful valour of Julian had triumphed over all the obstacles that opposed his march to the gates of Ctesiphon. But the reduction, or even the siege, of the capital of Persia, was still at a distance: nor can the military conduct of the emperor be clearly apprehended, without a knowledge of the country which was the theatre of his bold and skillful operations.¹ Twenty miles to the south of Bagdad, and on the eastern bank of the Tigris, the curiosity of travellers has observed some ruins of the palaces of Ctesiphon, which, in the time of Julian, was a great and populous city. The name and glory of the adjacent Seleucia were for ever extinguished; and the only remaining quarter of that Greek colony had resumed, with the Assyrian language and

¹ *Armeniac. Hist.* 37. *Libanides, Orat. Parous. c.* 177, p. 348.

² M. d'Anville (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom.* 25, p. 210-220) has ascertained the true position and distance of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Bagdad, &c. The Roman travellers, *Strabo de Geog.* lib. 15, 164, 165, p. 620, 627, seem to be the most intelligent reporters of that famous province. He is a geographer and a soldier, but not a very vain and proud.

manners, the primitive appellation of Coche. CHAP. XXIV.
Corno was situate on the western side of the Ty-
gris; but it was naturally considered as a subor-
dinate of Ctesiphon, with which we may suppose it to
have been connected by a permanent bridge of
boats. The united parts contributed to form the
common epithet of Al Modain, *itas civitas*,
which the Orientals have bestowed on the winter
residence of the Sassanides; and the whole cir-
cumference of the Persian capital was strongly
fortified by the waters of the river, by lofty walls,
and by impracticable morasses. Near the ruins
of Seleucia, the camp of Julian was fixed, and
secured, by a ditch and rampart, against the sal-
lies of the numerous and enterprising garrison of
Coche. In this fruitful and pleasant country, the
Romans were plentifully supplied with water and
forage; and several forts which might have em-
barrassed the motions of the army, submitted,
after some resistance, to the efforts of their valour.
The fleet passed from the Euphrates into an arti-
ficial derivation of that river, which pours a
copious and navigable stream into the Tigris,
at a small distance *below* the great city. If they
had followed this royal canal, which bore the
name of Nahur-Malcha,* the intermediate situa-
tion of Coche would have separated the fleet
and army of Julian; and the rash attempt of

* The royal canal (*Nahur-Malcha*) might be accurately compared, crossed, divided, &c. (Callertus, *Geograph. Annot.* tom. 4, p. 427); and these charges only went to explain the seeming contradiction of *below*. In the time of Julian, it must have fallen into the En-
glishes before Christianity.

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steering against the current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the midst of a hostile capital, must have been attended with the total destruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the emperor foresaw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minutely studied the operations of Trajan in the same country, he soon recollected, that his warlike predecessor had dug a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Ctesiphon on the right hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Malech into the river Tigris at some distance *above* the cities. From the information of the peasants, Julian ascertained the vestiges of this ancient work, which were almost obliterated by design or accident. By the insatiable labour of the soldiers, a broad and deep channel was speedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A strong dike was constructed to intercept the ordinary current of the Nahar-Malech: a flood of waters rushed impetuously into their new bed: and the Roman fleet, steering their triumphant course into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which the Persians of Ctesiphon had erected to oppose their passage.

Passage of
the Tigris,
and view
of the
Romans.

As it became necessary to transport the Roman army over the Tigris, another labour presented itself, of less toil, but of more danger, than the preceding expedition. The stream was broad and rapid; the ascent steep and difficult; and the intrenchments, which had been formed on the ridge of the opposite bank, were lined with a

numerous army of heavy calivers, dexterous archers, and huge elephants: who, (according to the extravagant hyperbole of Lullianus), could triumph, with the same ease, a field of corn, or a legion of Romans.* In the presence of such an enemy, the construction of a bridge was impracticable; and the intrepid prince, who instantly seized the only possible expedient, concealed his design, till the moment of execution, from the knowledge of the barbarians, or his own troops, and even of his generals themselves. Under the specious pretence of examining the state of the magazines, fourscore vessels were gradually unladen; and a select detachment, apparently destined for some secret expedition, was ordered to stand to their arms on the first signal. Julian disguised the silent anxiety of his own mind with smiles of confidence and joy; and amused the hostile nations with the spectacle of military games, which he insolently celebrated under the walls of Coche. The day was consecrated to pleasure: but, as soon as the hour of supper was past, the emperor summoned the generals to his tent, and acquainted them, that he had fixed that night for the passage of the Tigris. They stood in silent and respectful astonishment; but, when the venerable Sallust assumed the privilege of his age and experience, the rest of the chiefs supported with freedom the weight of his pro-

* The pagans themselves, as well as the pagans of the east, were not so much alarmed by the sight of elephants as the Christians were. The latter, indeed, were in great numbers slain by the elephants in the wars of every Christian king.

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dent remonstrances.* Julian contented himself with observing, that conquest and safety depended on the attempt; that, instead of diminishing, the number of their enemies would be increased, by successive reinforcements; and that a longer delay would neither contract the breadth of the stream, nor level the height of the bank. The signal was instantly given, and obeyed: the most impatient of the legions leaped into five vessels that lay nearest to the bank: and as they plied their oars with intrepid diligence, they were lost, after a few moments, in the darkness of the night. A flame arose on the opposite side: and Julian, who too clearly understood that his foremost vessels, in attempting to land, had been fired by the enemy, dexterously converted their extreme danger into a presage of victory.—“Our fellow-soldiers,” he eagerly exclaimed, “are already masters of the bank: see—they make the appointed signal: let us hasten to emulate and assist their courage.” The united and rapid motion of a great fleet broke the violence of the current, and they reached the eastern shore of the Tigris with sufficient speed to extinguish the flames, and rescue their adventurous companions. The difficulties of a steep and lofty ascent were increased by the weight of armour, and the darkness of the night. A shower of stones, darts, and fire, was incessantly discharged

* Julianus attulit in the most perverted of the grounds. I have examined in some MSS. Ammianus says, of all the leaders, quidam erant cum suis deinde castris periret sed periculum tentationis.

on the heads of the assailants; who, after an arduous struggle, climbed the bank, and stood victorious upon the rampart. As soon as they possessed a more equal field, Julian, who, with his light infantry, had led the attack,* darted through the ranks a skilful and experienced eye: his bravest soldiers, according to the precepts of Homer,† were distributed in the front and rear; and all the trumpets of the imperial army sounded to battle. The Romans, after sending up a military shout, advanced in measured steps to the animating notes of martial music; hunched their formidable javelins; and rushed forwards with drawn swords, to deprive the barbarians, by a closer onset, of the advantage of their missile weapons. The whole engagement lasted above twelve hours; till the gradual retreat of the Persians was changed into a disorderly flight, of which the shameful example was given by the principal leaders, and the Surenas himself. They were pursued to the gates of Ctesiphon; and the conquerors might have entered the dismayed city,‡ if their general, Victor, who was dangerously wounded with

* *Hinc Imperator* *Itaque Annianus hoc cum his annotatione avalla per prima potestatem discurrere, &c.* Yet *Flavianus*, his friend, does not allow him to pass the river till two days after the battle.

† *Sententia Homeri est deperdita.* A similar disposition is ascribed to the wise Nestor in the fourth book of the *Iliad*; and Homer was copied almost from the mind of Julian.

‡ *Præter remota causa illorum, variegata ignominia totius gentis, quæque Chalybæorum præter viros milites interitum, et majus præcedens veritas timet, quæ non virtutis, sedæque Rufus de Persicis, c. 26.* Their victory might dispose them to keep the advice of Victor.

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THE DEFEAT OF JULIUS

an arrow, had not conjured them to desist from a rash attempt, which must be fatal, if it were not successful. On *their* side, the Romans acknowledged the loss of only seventy-five men; while they affirmed, that the barbarians had left on the field of battle two thousand five hundred, or even six thousand, of their bravest soldiers. The spoil was such as might be expected from the riches and luxury of an oriental camp: large quantities of silver and gold, splendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of massy silver. The victorious emperor distributed, as the rewards of valour, some honourable gifts, civic, and mural, and naval, crowns: which he, and perhaps he alone, esteemed more precious than the wealth of Asia. A solemn sacrifice was offered to the god of war, but the appearance of the victims threatened the most inauspicious events; and Julian soon discovered, by less ambiguous signs, that he had now reached the term of his prosperity.

Victims
and other
signs of
Julian's
A. D. 362,
June.

On the second day after the battle, the domestic guards, the Jovians and Herculians, and the remaining troops, which amounted near two-thirds of the whole army, were securely trussed over the Tigris.* While the Persians beheld

* The defeat of the army, the passage of the Tigris, and the victory, are described by Ammianus, *Hist. de Res. Illustres*, *Offen. Pers.* c. 194-198, p. 545-550; *Geogr. Nomenclat.* *Offen. Pers.* c. 116; Zosimus, *II. III.* p. 181-182, and Socrates, *Hist. eccl. Trinitatis*, c. 29.

* The first and army were divided in three segments, of which the first only had passed during the night; Ammian. *op. cit.* The

from the walls of Ctesiphon the desolation of the adjacent country; Julian cast round his anxious look towards the North, in full expectation, that, as he himself had victoriously penetrated to the capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebastian and Procopius, would be executed with the same courage and diligence. His expectations were disappointed by the treachery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and most probably directed, the desertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans;* and by the dissensions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or executing any plan for the public service. When the emperor had relinquished the hope of this important reinforcement, he condescended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the sentiment of those generals, who dissuaded the siege of Ctesiphon, as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking. It is not easy for us to conceive, by what arts of fortification, a city thrice besieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian, could be rendered impregnable against an army of sixty thousand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly supplied

note legation, whom Julian transports on the next day, l. iii, p. 180, which relates of the prisoners, among whom the historian mentions, and the former emperor Julian, actually served I would not be at the distance, and perhaps the Jewish and Samaritan, who when the state is given.

* *Mon. of Cherson (Hist. Antiqu. l. iii, c. 12, p. 246) supplies us with a national tradition, and a curious story. I have borrowed only the leading circumstances, which is consistent with truth, probability, and common sense. (Hist. Antiqu. l. iii, c. 12, p. 246.)*

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with ships, provisions, battering engines, and military stores. But we may rest assured, from the love of glory, and contempt of danger, which formed the character of Julian, that he was not discouraged by any trivial or imaginary obstacles.¹ At the very time when he declined the siege of Ctesiphon, he rejected, with disdain, the most flattering offers of a negotiation of peace. Sapor, who had been so long accustomed to the tardy cunctation of Constantine, was surprised by the intrepid diligence of his successor. As far as the confines of India and Scythia, the satraps of the distant provinces were ordered to assemble their troops, and to march, without delay, to the assistance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory, their motions slow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devastation of Assyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the slaughter of his bravest troops, who defended the passage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in the dust; he took his repasts on the ground; and the disorder of his hair expressed the grief and anxiety of his mind. Perhaps he would not have refused to purchase, with one half of his kingdom, the safety of the remainder; and he would have gladly subscribed himself, in a treaty of peace,

¹ *Græciis imperatoribus, sacrosæ majestatis et opprobrii.* Ammianus, lib. 21. His father-soldier, *Varronian*, might smile from the distance. *Asperiusque populus, sedes apud Chosroem statim abscissæ, subest: et præcipue Victor, lib. 2, 15.* Zosimus is careful to observe, that Sapor, *interitum*.

the faithful and dependant ally of the Roman conqueror. Under the pretence of private business, a minister of rank and confidence was secretly dispatched to embrace the knees of Hormisdas, and to request, in the language of a suppliant, that he might be introduced into the presence of the emperor. The Sasanian prince, whether he listened to the voice of pride or humanity, whether he consulted the sentiments of his birth, or the duties of his situation, was equally inclined to promote a salutary measure, which would terminate the calamities of Persia, and secure the triumph of Rome. He was astonished by the inflexible firmness of a hero, who remembered, most unfortunately for himself, and for his country, that Alexander had uniformly rejected the propositions of Darius. But as Julian was sensible, that the hope of a safe and honourable peace might cool the ardour of his troops, he earnestly requested, that Hormisdas would privately dismiss the minister of Sapor, and conceal this dangerous temptation from the knowledge of the camp.*

The honour, as well as interest, of Julian, forbade him to consume his time under the impregnable walls of Ctesiphon; and as often as he defied the barbarians, who defended the city, to meet him on the open plain, they prudently

He leaves
his tent.

* Libanius, *Orat. Pagan.* c. 130, p. 354; c. 136, p. 361; *Socrus*, l. 6, c. 21. The ecclesiastical historian imports the refusal of peace to the advice of Maximus. Such advice was unworthy of a philosopher; but the philosopher was likewise a sycophant, who flattered the hopes and passions of his master.

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CONTINUED.

replied, that if he desired to exercise his valour, he might seek the army of the Great King. He felt the insult, and he accepted the advice. Instead of confining his servile march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he resolved to imitate the adventurous spirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Asia. The magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed, by the arts of a noble Persian, who, in the cause of his country, had generously submitted to act a part full of danger, of falsehood, and of shame.* With a train of faithful followers, he deserted to the imperial camp; exposed, in a specious tale, the injuries which he had sustained; exaggerated the cruelty of Sapor, the discontent of the people, and the weakness of the monarchy; and confidently offered himself as the hostage and guide of the Roman march. The most rational grounds of suspicion were urged, without effect, by the wisdom and experience of Hormisdas; and the credulous Julian, receiving the traitor into his bosom, was persuaded to issue an hasty order, which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence, and to endanger his safety. He destroyed, in a single hour, the whole navy, which had been

* The arts of this trait Zopyrus (Krag. Naxosorum, lib. ix, p. 113, 114) may derive some credit from the testimony of two authorities, (Noster Rufus and Victor), and the usual story of Tisamon, (Oros. lib. vi. c. 134, p. 252), and Artabanus, (lib. vi. 7). The course of genuine history is interrupted by a most incredible strain in the tale of Artabanus.

transported above five hundred miles, at so great an expence of toil, of treasure, and of blood. Twelve, or, at the most, twenty-four, small vessels were saved, to accompany, on carriages, the march of the army, and to form occasional bridges for the passage of the rivers. A supply of twenty days provisions was reserved for the use of the soldiers; and the rest of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred vessels, which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames, by the absolute command of the emperor. The christian bishops, Gregory and Augustin, insult the madness of the apostate, who executed, with his own hands, the sentence of divine justice. Their authority, of less weight, perhaps, in a military question, is confirmed by the cool judgment of an experienced soldier, who was himself spectator of the conflagration, and who could not disapprove the reluctant murmurs of the troops.¹ Yet there are not wanting some specious, and perhaps solid, reasons, which might justify the resolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis.² The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very considerable;

¹ See Ammianus, (xlv., 71) Lactantius, (Inst. Persecut., c. 128, 129, p. 344, 371) Eusebius, (H. E. p. 187); Zosimus, (l. ii, c. 20, p. 201); Gregory, (984. iv, p. 118); Augustin, (de Civitate Dei, l. vi, c. 29, l. vi, c. 31). Of these, Lactantius alone attempts a weak apology for his master's folly, according to Ammianus, pronounced his very condemnation, by a just and impartial argument to dissipate the fumes.

² Consult Strabo, (l. i, c. 158); Strabo, (l. xv, p. 1074), and Tacitus, (c. i, l. ii, p. 138).

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XXIV. and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a
great fleet against the stream of a rapid river,¹
which in several places was embarrassed by natural
or artificial cataracts.² The power of sails
or oars was insufficient; it became necessary to
tow the ships against the current of the river; the
strength of twenty thousand soldiers was exhausted
in this tedious and servile labour; and if the
Romans continued to march along the banks of
the Tigris, they could only expect to return home
without achieving any enterprise worthy of the
genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the
contrary, it was advisable to advance into the
inland country, the destruction of the fleet and
magazines was the only measure which could
save that valuable prize from the hands of the
numerous and active troops which might sud-
denly be poured from the gates of Ctesiphon.
Had the arms of Julian been victorious, we
should now admire the conduct, as well as the
courage, of a hero, who, by depriving his soldiers
of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the al-
ternative of death or conquest.³

¹ A selection of Tigris bridges reveal the appalling difficulties. *Pitt. Hist. Natur.* vi. 22.

² One of these falls, which presents an artificial example of cataracts is described by Theophrastus, (*part. 4. l. 3. p. 119.*) and Theophrastus, (*part. 2. l. 1. p. 100.*) The Persians, or Assyrians, allowed to interrupt the navigation of the river, (*Strabo. l. 16. p. 1613.*) *PAULUS.* (*Epiphanius in 12 Tigris, p. 98, 99.*)

³ Recalling the successful and applauded schemes of Agesilaus and Cimon, who burnt their ships on the coasts of Africa and Mexico.

The cumbersome train of artillery and wagons, which retards the operations of a modern army, were in a great measure unknown in the camps of the Romans.* Yet, in every age, the subsistence of sixty thousand men must have been one of the most important cares of a prudent general; and that subsistence could only be drawn from his own or from the enemy's country. Had it been possible for Julian to maintain a bridge of communication on the Tigris, and to preserve the conquered places of Assyria, a desolated province could not afford any large or regular supplies, in a season of the year when the lands were covered by the inundation of the Euphrates,[†] and the unwholesome air was darkened with swarms of innumerable insects.[‡] The appearance of the hostile country was far more inviting. The extensive region that lies between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media, was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a very improved state of

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and
nothing
against
himself

* See the judicious reflections of the Author of the Essay on Tactics, lib. ii. p. 265-272, and the learned remarks of M. Guérard, *Nouveaux Mémoires Mémorial*, tom. i. p. 321-327, on the baggage and retinue of the Roman armies.

† The Tigris rises to the north, the Euphrates to the south, of the Armenian mountains. The former overflows in March, the latter in July. These circumstances are well explained in the Geographical Description of Persia, inserted in Spalding's Expedition of Cyrus, vol. ii. p. 25.

‡ *Armenicus* 1211, 1212, 1213, as he had felt the immensity of the flood, the heat, and the insects. The lands of Assyria, oppressed by the Tatar, and ravaged by the Curdi, or Arabs, yield no harvest of corn, wheat, and barley field, for the seed which is cast into the ground by the wretched and unskillful husbandman. *Voyage de Seckler*, tom. ii. p. 279, 284.

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cultivation. Julian might expect, that a conqueror, who possessed the two forcible instruments of persuasion, steel and gold, would easily procure a plentiful subsistence from the fears or avarice of the natives. But on the approach of the Romans, this rich and smiling prospect was instantly blasted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deserted the open villages, and took shelter in the fortified towns: the cattle was driven away; the grass and ripe corn were consumed with fire; and, as soon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert. This desperate but effectual method of defence, can only be executed by the enthusiasm of a people who prefer their independence to their property; or by the rigour of an arbitrary government, which consults the public safety, without submitting to their inclinations the liberty of choice. On the present occasion, the zeal and obedience of the Persians seconded the commands of Sapor; and the emperor was soon reduced to the scanty stock of provisions which continually wasted in his hands. Before they were entirely consumed, he might still have ravaged the wealthy and unwarlike cities of Erbatana or Susa, by the effort of a rapid and well-directed march; but he was deprived of this last resource by his ignorance of the roads, and by

¹ *Index of Cities* (Mansur Pasha, p. 2, 6, in Hudson, *Geograph. Misc.*, tom. II.) requires 125 villages from Seleucia, and Thomsen (*Index* p. 1-3, II, p. 205-240) 128 houses of church, from Bagdad to Ecbatana, or Hamadan. These resources cannot exceed an ordinary provision, or three Roman miles.

the perfidy of his guides. The Romans wandered several days in the country to the eastward of Bagdad: the Persian deserter, who had actually led them into the snare, escaped from their resentment: and his followers, as soon as they were put to the torture, confessed the secret of the conspiracy. The visionary conquests of Hyrcania and India, which had so long amused, now tormented the mind of Julian. Conscious that his own imprudence was the cause of the public distress, he anxiously balanced the hopes of safety or success, without obtaining a satisfactory answer either from gods or men. At length, as the only practicable measure, he embraced the resolution of directing his steps towards the banks of the Tigris, with the design of saving the army by a hasty march to the confines of Carthene: a fertile and friendly province, which acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. The desponding troops obeyed the signal of the retreat, only seventy days after they had passed the Chaboras, with the sanguine expectation of subverting the throne of Persia.

As long as the Romans seemed to advance into the country, their march was observed and insulted from a distance, by several bodies of Persian cavalry; who shewing themselves some-

* The church of Salem Town (Massachusetts) is communistic, but not clearly, dominated by Americans (see, e. g., *Illustrations of the History of the Church of Salem Town, Massachusetts*, ed. by the Rev. J. W. Alden, 1844, pp. 101, and *Records of the Church of Salem Town, Massachusetts*, ed. by the Rev. J. W. Alden, 1844, pp. 101, 102). The two last seem to suggest that these communists were visiting, and I think a church meeting here in the back of the Year.

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times in loose, and sometimes in closer, order, faintly skirmished with the advanced guards. These detachments were, however, supported by a much greater force: and the heads of the columns were no sooner pointed towards the Tigris, than a cloud of dust arose on the plain. The Romans, who now aspired only to the permission of a safe and speedy retreat, endeavoured to persuade themselves, that this formidable appearance was occasioned by a troop of wild asses, or perhaps by the approach of some friendly Arabs. They halted, pitched their tents, fortified their camp, passed the whole night in continual alarms; and discovered, at the dawn of day, that they were surrounded by an army of Persians. This army, which might be considered only as the van of the barbarians, was soon followed by the main body of cuirassiers, archers, and elephants, commanded by Meranes, a general of rank and reputation. He was accompanied by two of the king's sons, and many of the principal satraps; and fame and expectation exaggerated the strength of the remaining powers, which slowly advanced under the conduct of Sapor himself. As the Romans continued their march, their long army, which was forced to bend, or divide, according to the varieties of the ground, afforded frequent and favourable opportunities to their vigilant enemies. The Persians repeatedly charged with fury; they were repeatedly repulsed with firmness; and the action at Maranga, which almost deserved the name of a bat-

He, was marked by a considerable loss of elephants and elephants, perhaps of equal value in the eyes of their monarch. These splendid advantages were not obtained without an adequate slaughter on the side of the Romans: several officers of distinction were either killed or wounded; and the emperor himself, who on all occasions of danger, inspired and guided the valour of his troops, was obliged to expose his person, and exert his abilities. The weight of offensive and defensive arms, which still constituted the strength and safety of the Romans, disabled them from making any long or effectual pursuit: and as the horsemen of the East were trained to dart their javelins, and shoot their arrows, at full speed, and in every possible direction,¹ the cavalry of Persia was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and disorderly flight. But the most certain and irreparable loss of the Romans, was that of time. The hardy veterans, accustomed to the cold climate of Gaul and Germany, fainted under the sultry heat of an Assyrian summer; their vigour was exhausted by the incessant repetition of march and combat; and the progress of the army was suspended by the precautions of a slow and dangerous retreat, in the presence of an active enemy. Every day, every hour, as the supply diminished, the value and price of subsistence increased in the Roman

¹ Claudius, the most powerful of eastern monarchs, questioned Orosius on this point, and was told, that the phlegmatic and dexterity of the Persians discovered in the Roman Empire, is 650, 661, &c.) and collected the specimens of antiquity.

СІМЪ
КНИГЪ

camp.² Julian, who always contented himself with such food as a hungry soldier would have disdained, distributed, for the use of the troops, the provisions of the imperial household, and whatever could be spared from the sumpter-horses of the tribunes and generals. But this feeble relief served only to aggravate the sense of the public distress; and the Romans began to entertain the most gloomy apprehensions, that before they could reach the frontiers of the empire, they should all perish, either by famine, or by the sword of the barbarians.³

There is
no naturally
correct

While Julian struggled with the almost insuperable difficulties of his situation, the silent hours of the night were still devoted to study and contemplation. Whenever he closed his eyes in short and interrupted slumbers, his mind was agitated with painful anxiety; nor can it be thought surprising, that the Genius of the empire should once more appear before him, covering, with a funereal veil, his head, and his horn of abundance, and slowly retiring from the imperial tent. The monarch started from his couch, and stepping forth, to refresh his wearied spirits with the coolness of the midnight air, he beheld a

In Mark Antony's defense, an early Roman rule of non-intervention, or, in other words, a period of non-participation in the civil wars, may be advanced and set as a weighty motive. It is impossible to pursue the increasing morality of Plutarch, *ibid.*, p. 102-103, without observing that Mark Antony and Octavius were pursued by the same motive, and involved in the same dilemma.

² *American Mus.*, 8: 147, 1. *Zoologie*, 1, 40, p. 194, 195, 1852; *Illustr. Mus. France*, v. 131, 137, p. 147, 148, 149. The original of *Aurichthys* appears ignored, that the loaches were *Aurichthys*.

fiery meteor, which shot athwart the sky, and suddenly vanished. Julian was convinced that he had seen the menacing countenance of the god of war;¹ the council which he summoned, of Tuscan Haruspices,² unanimously pronounced that he should abstain from action: but, on this occasion, necessity and reason were more prevalent than superstition; and the trumpets sounded at the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been secretly occupied by the Persians. Julian led the van, with the skill and attention of a consummate general; he was alarmed by the intelligence that his rear was suddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay aside his cuirass: but he snatched a shield from one of his attendants, and hastened, with a sufficient reinforcement, to the relief of the rear-guard. A similar danger recalled the intrepid prince to the defence of the front; and, as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked, and almost overpowered, by a furious charge of the Persian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was soon defeated, by the well-

¹ Ammian. xiv. 2. Julian had wrote in a passion, comparing the Mars seen by him, with the Mars of the ancients. Such a violent quarrel was not uncommon between the gods and their mortal enemies; and even the pious Augustus, after his fate had been twice interpreted, excluded Neptune from the honours of public worship. See Ammian's philosophical Reflections; Euseb. vii. 2, p. 418.

² They still retained the monopoly of the civil, not heretic, sciences, which had been invented in Hellas; and presumed to derive their knowledge of signs and omens from the sacred books of Tuscan, or Tuscan, seers.

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 XXIV. their weapons, with dexterity and effect, against
 the backs of the horsemen, and the legs of the
 elephants. The barbarians fled: and Julian,
 who was foremost in every danger, animated the
 pursuit with his voice and gestures. His trem-
 bling guards, scattered and oppressed by the dis-
 orderly throng of friends and enemies, reminded
 their fearless sovereign that he was without ar-
 mour; and conjured him to decline the fall of
 the impending ruin. As they exclaimed,* a
 cloud of darts and arrows was discharged from the
 flying squadrons: and a javelin, after razing the
 skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and fixed
 in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted
 to draw the deadly weapon from his side: but
 his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the
 steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His
 guards flew to his relief; and the wounded
 emperor was gentleraised from the ground, and
 conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an
 adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy
 event passed from rank to rank; but the grief of
 the Romans inspired them with invincible valour,
 and the desire of revenge. The bloody and
 obstinate conflict was maintained by the two
 armies, till they were separated by the total dark-
 ness of the night. The Persians derived some
 honour from the advantage which they obtained

* *Καὶ τότε οὐκ ἔτι σκεπάζοντες τὸν βασιλῆα οἱ ἄλλοι οὐκ ἐκείνου
 ἀσπίδα ἔχοντες, οὐδ' ὀπίσθιον καὶ ἄνωθεν ἔχοντες τὸν βασι-
 λεύῃ σκεπάζοντες ἐκείνον.* — *Ammon.* l. vii. c. 2.

against the left wing, where Anatolius, master of the offices, was slain, and the prefect Sallust very narrowly escaped. But the event of the day was adverse to the batharians. They abandoned the field: their two generals, Meranes and Nabor-dates,* fifty nobles or senators, and a multitude of their bravest soldiers: and the success of the Romans, if Julian had survived, might have been improved into a decisive and useful victory.

The first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort: and the surgeons who examined his wound, discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage: the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates: and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiosity, had assembled round his couch, listened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor. "Friends and fellow-soldiers, the

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The death
of Julian,
A. D. 363.
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* Supposed himself engaged to the Romans, that it was his office to counteract the ravages of his former attempts, by sending them, as a present, the heads of the chiefs and officers who had not fallen by their master's side. *Edwards, de pace Juliano, lib. 4. cap. 1. 163.*

* The character and situation of Julian might counteract the supposition, that he had previously composed the sublime oration, which

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"reasonable period of my departure is now arrived, and I discharge, with the cheerfulness of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. I have learned from philosophy, how much the soul is more excellent than the body; and that the separation of the nobler substance should be the subject of joy, rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety;* and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character, which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die without remorse, as I have lived without guilt. I am pleased to reflect on the behaviour of my private life; and I can affirm with confidence, that the supreme authority, that emanation of the Divine Power, has been preserved in my hands pure and immaculate. Detesting the corrupt and destructive maxims of despotism, I have considered the happiness of the people as the end of government. Submitting my actions to the law of prudence, of justice, and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of Providence. Peace was the object of my counsels, as long as peace

which, according to heart, and has transmitted. The version of the *Chilo* is in *Plutarch's* *Isidore* and *Isidore*. I have followed him in expounding the *Plutarch's* idea of *Isidore*, which is strictly consistent with the original.

* *Herodotus* (3.1.2. 55) has discovered that *Isidore* is an agreeable man. Yet the *Isidore* in the *Isidore* book of the *Isidore* who learned with him of blood the death of *Isidore* his son; had a very imperfect notion of happiness as given beyond the grave.

" was consistent with the public welfare; but
 " when the imperious valor of my country sum-
 " moned me to arms, I exposed my person to
 " the dangers of war, with the clear foreknow-
 " ledge (which I had acquired from the art of
 " divination) that I was destined to fall by the
 " sword. I now offer my tribute of gratitude
 " to the Eternal Being, who has not suffered me
 " to perish by the cruelty of a tyrant, by the
 " secret dagger of conspiracy, or by the slow
 " tortures of lingering disease. He has given
 " me in the midst of an honourable career, a
 " splendid and glorious departure from this
 " world; and I hold it equally absurd, equally
 " base, to solicit, or to decline, the stroke of
 " fate.—Thus much I have attempted to say;
 " but my strength fails me, and I feel the ap-
 " proach of death.—I shall cautiously refrain
 " from any word that may tend to influence
 " your suffrages in the election of an emperor.
 " My choice might be impudent or injudi-
 " cious; and if it should not be ratified by the
 " consent of the army, it might be fatal to the
 " person whom I should recommend. I shall
 " only as a good citizen, express my hopes,
 " that the Romans may be blessed with the
 " government of a virtuous sovereign." After
 " this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a
 " firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed, by
 " a military testament,* the remains of his private

* The soldiers who made their verbal, or manuscript, testa-
 "ments, upon actual service, (as mentioned), were exempted from the
 formalities

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perhaps; and making some inquiry why Anatolius was not present, he understood, from the answer of Salustius, that Anatolius was killed; and bewailed, with unblinded inconsistency, the loss of his friend. At the same time he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators; and conjured them not to disgrace, by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince, who, in a few moments, would be united with heaven, and with the stars.* The spectators were silent; and Julian entered into a metaphysical argument with the philosophers Proctus and Maximus, on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made, of mind as well as body, must probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins: he called for a draught of cold water; and, as soon as he had drunk it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-second year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months, from the death of Constantine. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some ostentation, the love of virtue

formidable of the Roman law. See Helmschläger, *Antiquit. Jur. Roman.* tom. 5, p. 584; and Munroquon, *Esquisse des Loix Romaines*.

* This notion of the human soul, with its distant regions, its share of the universe, is the lowest doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato; but it seems to exclude any prospect of sensible happiness. See Waddesley's learned and critical observations. *Three Legations*, vol. ii, p. 106, 107.

and of fame, which had been the ruling passions of his life.^a CHAP.
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The triumph of Christianity, and the calamities of the empire, may, in some measure, be ascribed to Julian himself, who had neglected to secure the future execution of his designs, by the timely and judicious nomination of an associate and successor. But the royal race of Constantine Chlorus was reduced to his own person; and if he entertained any serious thoughts of investing with the purple the most worthy among the Romans, he was diverted from his resolution by the difficulty of the choice, the jealousy of power, the fear of ingratitude, and the natural presumption of health, of youth, and of prosperity. His unexpected death left the empire without a master, and without an heir, in a state of perplexity and danger, which, in the space of four-score years, had never been experienced, since the election of Diocletian. In a government, which had almost forgotten the distinction of pure and noble blood, the superiority of birth was of little moment; the claims of official rank were accidental and precarious; and the candidates, who might aspire to ascend the vacant throne, could be supported only by the consciousness of personal merit, or by the hopes of popular favour. But the situation of a famished army, excom-

Continuation
of the com-
ment.
Favien.
A. D. 361.
June 17.

^a The whole relation of the death of Julian is given by Ammianus, (xxv. 7), an intelligent spectator. Idemius, who lived with Julian, from the same, has supplied some circumstances, (Hist. Constant. c. 132-140, p. 369-376). The splendour of Company, and the legends of more potent words, may now be readily supplied.

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.....

passed on all sides by no host of barbarians, shortened the moments of grief and deliberation. In this scene of terror and distress, the body of the deceased prince, according to his own directions, was decently embalmed; and, at the dawn of day, the generals convened a military senate, at which the commanders of the legions, and the officers, both of cavalry and infantry, were invited to assist. Three or four hours of the night had not passed away without some secret cabals; and when the election of an emperor was proposed, the spirit of faction began to agitate the assembly. Victor and Arinthæus collected the remains of the court of Constantine; the friends of Julian attached themselves to the Gallic chiefs, Dagalaiphus and Neritta; and the most fatal consequences might be apprehended from the discord of two factions, so opposite in their character and interest, in their maxims of government, and perhaps in their religious principles. The superior virtues of Sallust could alone reconcile their divisions, and unite their suffrages; and the venerable prefect would immediately have been declared the successor of Julian, if he himself, with sincere and modest firmness, had not alleged his age and infirmities, so unequal to the weight of the diadem. The generals, who were surprised and perplexed by his refusal, shewed some disposition to adopt the salutary advice of an inferior officer,* that they should act

* *Honoratus aliquis miles: perhaps Antoninus Demetrius. The mild and judicious historian describes the scene of the election at which he was undoubtedly present, (liv. 35.*

as they would have acted in the absence of the emperor: that they should exert their abilities to extricate the army from the present distress; and, if they were fortunate enough to reach the confines of Mesopotamia, they should proceed with united and deliberate councils in the election of a lawful sovereign. While they debated, a few voices saluted Jovian, who was no more than *first* of the domestics, with the names of Emperor and Augustus. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly repeated by the guards who surrounded the tent, and passed, in a few minutes, to the extremities of the line. The new prince, astonished with his own fortune, was hastily invested with the imperial ornaments, and received an oath of fidelity from the generals, whose favour and protection he so lately solicited. The strongest recommendation of Jovian was the merit of his father, Count Varronian, who enjoyed, in honourable retirement, the fruit of his long services. In the obscure freedom of a private station, the son indulged his taste for wine and women; yet he supported, with credit, the character of a Christian^a and a soldier. Without being conspicuous

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.....

^a The power of praefectures, enjoyed the dignity of a senator; and though not a *tribunus*, he ranked with the military rulers. See Theodoret, l. ii. c. xix. These privileges are perhaps more correct than the time of Jovian.

^b The ecclesiastical historians, Sozomen, l. vi. c. 17; Theodoret, l. vi. c. 18; and Theodoret, l. vi. c. 19, ascribe to Jovian the merit of a passion under the preceding reign; and plainly suppose, that he reformed the people, in the which army accidentally revealed that they were Christians. Ammianus, exactly pursuing his narrative, overflows the legend by a single sentence. *Nulla per Jovianum religio suspensa, promulgatum est, &c.* xlv. c.

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for any of the ambitious qualifications which excite the admiration and envy of mankind, the comely person of Julian, his cheerful temper and familiar wit, had gained the affection of his fellow-soldiers; and the generals of both parties acquiesced in a popular election, which had not been conducted by the arts of their enemies. The pride of this unexpected elevation was moderated by the just apprehension, that the same day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. The pressing voice of necessity was obeyed without delay; and the first orders issued by Julian, a few hours after his predecessor had expired, were to prosecute a march, which could alone extricate the Romans from their actual distress.

Danger
and diffi-
culty of
the retreat,
June 21
—July 1.

The extent of an enemy is most sincerely expressed by his fears: and the degree of fear may be accurately measured by the joy with which he celebrates his deliverance. The welcome news of the death of Julian, which a deserter revealed to the camp of Sapor, inspired the desponding monarch with a sudden confidence of victory. He immediately detached the royal cavalry, perhaps the ten thousand *Immortals*,¹ to second and

¹ *Antiquities* lib. 10, has drawn from the few impartial journals of Julian, an which the younger Victor has added some remarkable notices. The *Œdipus à la Historie* (Histoires de France, tom. 1, p. 1238) has composed an extensive history of his short reign; it is weak, remarkably distinguished by ignorance of every rational distinction, and religious prejudice.

² *Regis* inscription. It appears from Pausanias, that the Persians, as Gauls under Cyrus and Artabanus, were reproach'd if we imagine that they were sold by the Scythians. Pausan. de Hæcæ Persicis, p. 268, 29.

support the pursuit; and discharged the whole weight of his noised forces on the rear-guard of the Romans. The rear-guard was thrown into disorder; the renowned legions, which derived their titles from Dioclesian, and his warlike colleague, were broke and trampled down by the elephants; and three tribunes lost their lives in attempting to stop the flight of their soldiers. The battle was at length restored by the persevering valour of the Romans; the Persians were repulsed with a great slaughter of men and elephants; and the army, after murthering and fighting a long summer's day, arrived, in the evening, at Samarra on the banks of the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Ctesiphon.* On the ensuing day, the barbarians, instead of harassing the march, attacked the camp, of Jovinus; which had been seated in a deep and sequestered valley. From the hills, the archers of Persia insulted and annoyed the wearied legionaries; and a body of cavalry, which had penetrated with desperate courage through the pretorian gate, was cut in pieces, after a doubtful scuffle, near the imperial tent. In the waxing night, the camp of Carche was protected by the lofty dikes of the river; and the Roman army, though incessantly exposed to the vexations

* The ancient villages of the hill-side appearing are immediately back, and still we seem the land of battle where Sapor fell. See M. d'Anville last Memoire sur les ruines de Samarra, Ctesiphon, and Bagd, along the banks of the Tigris, *Geographie Ancienne*, tom. 6. p. 248. L'opinion de M. Tigris, p. 244, 245. As the most correct, Samarra, or Samarra, however, with a slight change of name, the royal residence of the Kings of the House of Abbas.

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parent of the Saracens, pitched their tents near the city of Dura,* four days after the death of Julian. The Tigris was still on their left: their hopes and provisions were almost consumed; and the impatient soldiers, who had fondly persuaded themselves, that the frontiers of the empire were not far distant, requested their new sovereign, that they might be permitted to hazard the passage of the river. With the assistance of his wisest officers, Jovian endeavoured to check their rashness, by representing, that if they possessed sufficient skill and vigour to stem the torrent of a deep and rapid stream, they would only deliver themselves naked and defenceless to the barbarians, who had occupied the opposite banks. Yielding at length to their clamorous importunities, he consented, with reluctance, that five hundred Gauls and Germans, accustomed from their infancy to the waters of the Rhine and Danube, should attempt the bold adventure, which might serve either as an encouragement, or as a warning, for the rest of the army. In the silence of the night, they swam the Tigris, surprised an unguarded post of the enemy, and displayed at the dawn of day the signal of their resolution and fortune. The success of this trial disposed the emperor to listen to the promises of his architects, who proposed to construct a floating bridge of the inflated skins of sheep, oxen,

* There was a fortified place in the wars of Antiochus called *Barabde* of Media and Persia. (Dionysius l. v. c. 96, 97, p. 248, 249, with *Strabo*, p. 99.)

and goats, covered with a floor of earth and fascines.² Two important days were spent in the ineffectual labour; and the Romans, who already endured the miseries of famine, cast a look of despair on the Tigris, and upon the barbarians; whose numbers and obstinacy increased with the distress of the imperial army.³

In this hopeless situation, the fainting spirits of the Romans were revived by the sound of peace. The transient presumption of Sapor had vanished; he observed, with serious concern, that, in the repetition of doubtful combats, he had lost his most faithful and intrepid nobles, his bravest troops, and the greatest part of his train of elephants: and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the resistance of despair, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the unexhausted powers of the Roman empire: which might soon advance to relieve, or to revenge, the successor of Julian. The Sorens himself, accompanied by another eunuch, appeared in the camp of Jorian;⁴ and declared, that the clemency of his sovereign was

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Negotia-
tion and
treaty of
peace—
July.

² A similar expedient was proposed to the soldiers of the last thousand, and wisely rejected. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, l. iii, p. 215, 222, 227. It appears from our modern travellers, that such expedients likewise performed the trade and navigation of the Tigris.

³ The first military acts of the reign of Jorian are related by Ammianus (lxv. 6); Eusebius, *Orat. Constant.* c. 146; p. 340, and *Basnage*, c. vi, p. 189, 190, 191. Though we were distant from the history of Julian, the secular testimony of Eusebius (see a *Paral. apoc. libro primo contra* c. 17) even incline us to suspect, that Ammianus has been too generous to the honour of the Roman arms.

⁴ *Notus Sapor* (the Persians, v. 12) endures a poor caricature of national vanity. Tardus reverens (the Roman Jorin, or a Persia prince di pure name inferior).

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not agree to signify the conditions, on which he would consent to spare and to disband the Caesar, with the relics of his captive army. The hopes of safety subdued the firmness of the Romans; the emperor was compelled, by the advice of his council, and the cries of the soldiers, to embrace the offer of peace; and the prefect Sallust was immediately sent, with the general Ariathenus, to understand the pleasure of the Great King. The crafty Persian delayed, under various pretences, the conclusion of the agreement; started difficulties, required explanations, suggested expedients, receded from his concessions, increased his demands, and wasted four days in the arts of negotiation, till he had consumed the stock of provisions which yet remained in the camp of the Romans. Had Julian been capable of executing a bold and prudent measure, he would have continued his march with unremitting diligence: the progress of the treaty would have suspended the attacks of the barbarians; and, before the expiration of the fourth day, he might have safely reached the fruitful province of Corduene, at the distance only of one hundred miles.* The irresolute emperor, instead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient resignation; and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace, which it

* It is unnecessary to controvert the opinion of Ammianus, a writer and a spectator. Yet it is difficult to understand, how the possibility of Corduene could extend over the plain of Assyria, so far as the confines of the Tigris and the great Salt; or how an army of sixty thousand men could march one hundred miles in four days.

was no longer in his power to refuse. The five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Sapor, were restored to the Persian monarchy. He acquired, by a single article, the impregnable city of Nisibis; which had sustained, in three successive sieges, the effort of his arms. Singara, and the castle of the Moors, one of the strongest places of Mesopotamia, were likewise dismembered from the empire. It was considered as an indulgence, that the inhabitants of those fortresses were permitted to retire with their effects; but the conqueror rigorously insisted, that the Romans should for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia. A peace, or rather a long truce of thirty years, was stipulated between the hostile nations; the faith of the treaty was ratified by solemn oaths, and religious ceremonies; and hostages of distinguished rank were reciprocally delivered to secure the performance of the conditions.¹

The sophist of Antioch, who saw with indignation the sceptre of his hero in the feeble hand of a Christian successor, professes to admire the moderation of Sapor, in contenting himself with so small a portion of the Roman empire. If he had stretched as far as the Euphrates the claims

The words
sceptre and
feeble hand
Antioch.

¹ The words of Orosius are crowded with great indignation by Amalarius, (civ. l. i.) Labbeus (Oros. Periclit. c. 142; p. 363.) Zaccaria, c. 34, p. 126, 161; Gregory Nazianzen (Oros. l. v. c. 11, 112, who blames the clemency to Julian, the rebellion to Jovian, and Theodosius, c. 1, 17). The two mentioned writers, who were present to a council of peace, styled this peace a servile and ignominious capitulation.

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of his ambition, he might have been secure, says Libanius, of not meeting with a refusal. If he had fixed, as the boundary of Persia, the Oxartes, the Cydnus, the Sangarius, or even the Thracian Bosphorus, flatterers would not have been wanting in the court of Jovian to convince the timid monarch, that his remaining provinces would still afford the most ample gratifications of power and luxury.* Without adopting in its full force this malicious insinuation, we must acknowledge, that the conclusion of so ignominious a treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obscure domestic, exalted to the throne by fortune, rather than by merit, was impatient to escape from the hands of the Persians; that he might prevent the designs of Procopius, who commanded the army of Mesopotamia, and established his doubtful reign over the legions and provinces, which were still ignorant of the hasty and tumultuous choice of the camp beyond the Tigris.† In the neighbourhood of the same river, at no very considerable distance from the fatal station of Dara,‡ the ten thou-

* Libanius, *Orat. Persicæ*, c. 143, p. 334, 335.

† *Constitutiones* . . . *republicæ* Maximæ *republicæ* *arguta* . . . *quibus* *capitulis* *reperit* *quæ* *plures* *Jovianus* *imperator* *culle* *adquisivit*. *Sextus Rufus de Persecutione*, c. 29. La Harpe has expressed, in a long and not useless, these species of dissimulation in public and private interest, (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. 1, p. 38, 303).

‡ The generals were posted on the banks of the Zabaris, *Abdasside*, l. ii, p. 110; l. iii, p. 176; or great Zab, a river of Assyria, 400 feet broad, which falls into the Tigris fourteen hours below Mosul. The river of the Greeks, known in the great and lower Zab the name of the Wolf, (*Lycus*), and the Great, (*Hyphes*). They created these names to attend the Tiger of the East.

and Greeks, without generals, or guides, or provisions, were abandoned, about twelve hundred miles from their native country, to the resentment of a voracious monarch. The difference of *their* conduct and success depended much more on their character than on their situation. Instead of tamely resigning themselves to the secret deliberations and private views of a single person, the united councils of the Greeks were inspired by the generous enthusiasm of a popular assembly; where the mind of each citizen is filled with the love of glory, the pride of freedom, and the contempt of death. Conscious of their superiority over the barbarians in arms and discipline, they disdained to yield, they refused to capitulate; every obstacle was surmounted by their patience, courage, and military skill: and the memorable retreat of the ten thousand exposed and insulted the weakness of the Persian monarchy.*

At the price of his disgraceful concessions, the emperor might perhaps have stipulated, that the camp of the hungry Romans should be plentifully supplied;† and that they should be permitted to pass the Tigris on the bridge which was constructed by the hands of the Persians. But, if

He would
have his
armies to
Sardinia.

* The *Cynopella* is engine and strength; the *Atrobatis* is unmerciful and animated. Such is the eternal difference between reason and truth.

† According to Babbion, an immediate supply of provisions was stipulated by the treaty; and Theopompus asserts, that the obligation was faithfully discharged by the Persians. Such a fact is probable, but undoubtedly false. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. II. p. 797.

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Jovian presumed to solicit these equitable terms; they were sternly refused by the haughty tyrant of the East; whose clemency had pardoned the invaders of his country. The Saracens sometimes interrupted the stragglers of the march; but the generals and troops of Sapor respected the resolution of arms; and Jovian was suffered to explore the most convenient place for the passage of the river. The small vessels which had been saved from the conflagration of the fleet, performed the most essential service. They first conveyed the emperor and his favourites; and afterwards transported, in many successive voyages, a great part of the army. But as every man was anxious for his personal safety, and apprehensive of being left on the hostile shore, the soldiers, who were too impatient to wait the slow returns of the boats, boddie ventured themselves on light barges, or inflated skins; and, drawing after them their horses, attempted, with various success, to swim across the river. Many of these daring adventurers were swallowed by the waves; many others, who were carried along by the violence of the stream, fell an easy prey to the avidity, or cruelty, of the wild Arabs; and the loss which the army sustained in the passage of the Tigris, was not inferior to the carnage of a day of battle. As soon as the Romans had landed on the western bank, they were delivered from the hostile pursuit of the barbarians; but, in a laborious march of two hundred miles over the plains of Mesopotamia, they endured the best extremities

of thirst and hunger. They were obliged to traverse a sandy desert, which, to the extent of seventy miles, did not afford a single blade of sweet grass, nor a single spring of fresh water; and the rest of the inhospitable waste was marked by the footsteps either of friends or enemies. Whenever a small measure of flour could be discovered in the camp, twenty pounds weight were greedily purchased with ten pieces of gold;² the beasts of burden were slaughtered and devoured; and the desert was strewn with the arms and luggage of the Roman soldiers, whose tattered garments and mangled countenances displayed their past sufferings, and actual misery. A small convoy of provisions advanced to meet the army as far as the castle of Ur; and the supply was the more grateful, since it declared the falsity of Sebastian and Procopius. At Thibaphutia³ the emperor most graciously received the generals of Mesopotamia; and the remains of a once flourishing army at length re-

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ARABIC WARS.

² We may suppose some loss of weight. Plinius ut, 87, ubi describit a sanguine ditione of Caesar's army in Hispania.

Itaque fures sceleratissimi.

Miles agit: tunc vultu non prodigit erat.

Progenies Cerealis. Pueri sunt patiens cibus.

Non dicit profecto jamvis vultus erat.

See Dupleix, *Nouveaux Mémoires d'Asiologie*, tome 1, p. 314-325. His Analysis of the two Campaigns in Syria and Africa, is the richest monument that has ever been raised to the glory of Caesar.

³ M. d'Arvillat calls his Name, and Thibaphutia in his *Voyage*, p. 24. He traces their march, and assigns the true position of Eilat, Ur, and Thibaphutia, which Arrianus has mentioned. He does not complain of the Scarcity, the Arabs had much, which Thibaphutia, just as, p. 137, is much corrected.

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posted themselves under the walls of Nisibis. The messengers of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language of flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return : and the new prince had taken the most effectual measures to secure the allegiance of the armies and provinces of Europe : by placing the military command in the hands of those officers, who, from motives of interest, or inclination, would firmly support the cause of their benefactor.^a

Universal
clamour
against the
treaty of
peace.

The friends of Julian had confidently announced the success of his expedition. They entertained a good persuasion, that the temples of the gods would be enriched with the spoils of the East ; that Persia would be reduced to the humble state of a tributary province, governed by the laws and magistrates of Rome ; that the barbarians would adopt the dress, and manners, and language, of their conquerors ; and that the youth of Ecbatana and Susa would study the art of rhetoric under Grecian masters.^b The progress of the arms of Julian interrupted his communication with the empire ; and, from the moment that he passed the Tigris, his affectionate subjects were ignorant of the fate and fortunes of their prince. Their contemplation of fancied triumphs was disturbed by the melancholy rumour of his death ; and they persisted to doubt, after

^a The retreat of Jovian is described by Ammianus (lxxx. 39) ; Libanius, *Orat. Funeb.* c. 145, p. 363, and Zosimus, bk. vi. c. 134.

^b Libanius, *Orat. Funeb.* c. 144, p. 360. Such were the usual hopes and wishes of a Roman.

they could no longer deny, the truth of that fatal event.¹ The messengers of Jovian promulgated the specious tale of a prudent and necessary peace: the voice of fame, louder and more sincere, revealed the disgrace of the emperor, and the conditions of the ignominious treaty. The minds of the people were filled with astonishment and grief, with indignation and terror, when they were informed, that the unworthy successor of Julian relinquished the five provinces which had been acquired by the victory of Galerius: and that he shamefully surrendered to the barbarians the important city of Nisus, the firmest bulwark of the provinces of the East.² The deep and dangerous question, How far the public faith should be observed, when it becomes incompatible with the public safety? was freely agitated in popular conversation: and some hopes were entertained, that the emperor would redeem his pusillanimous behaviour by a splendid act of patriotic perfidy. The inflexible spirit of the Roman senate had always disclaimed the unequal conditions which were extorted from the distress of her captive armies; and, if it were necessary

¹ The people of Carthage, a city devoted to paganism, harrowed the triumphant conqueror under a pile of stones, (Cassius, l. iii. p. 100). Licinius, when he received the fatal intelligence, cast his eyes on his sword: but he considered that Phœbe had condemned suicide, and that he must live to compose the elegy of Julian, (Cassius de Nisibis, tom. ii. p. 43, 44).

² Ambassadors and envoys may be admitted to this last condition of the public language and opinion. The people of Antioch recited an epigrammatic poem, which exposed them to the Persians, on a stained and defenceless frontier, (Cassius de Nisibis, p. 44, as Johann Aurmacher).

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to satisfy the national honour, by delivering the guilty general into the hands of the barbarians, the greatest part of the subjects of Jovian would have cheerfully acquiesced in the precedent of ancient times.*

Jovian's conversion, his
achievements, and
his death, are the
first period in the
history of the
Eastern Empire.

But the emperor, whatever might be the limits of his constitutional authority, was the absolute master of the laws and arms of the state; and the same motives which had forced him to subscribe, now pressed him to execute the treaty of peace. He was impatient to secure an empire at the expence of a few provinces; and the respectable names of religion and honour concealed the personal fears and the ambition of Jovian. Notwithstanding the dutiful solicitations of the inhabitants, decency, as well as prudence, forbade the emperor to lodge in the palace of Nisibis; but, the next morning after his arrival, Bineses, the ambassador of Persia, entered the place, displayed from the citadel the standard of the Great King, and proclaimed, in his name, the cruel alternative of exile or servitude. The principal citizens of Nisibis, who, till that fatal moment, had confided in the protection of their sovereign, threw themselves at his feet. They conjured him not to abandon, or, at least, not to deliver, a faithful colony to the rage of a barbarian tyrant, ex-

* The Abbé du Bosc, *Histoire de Jovien*, tome 5, p. 215-217, though a severe censure, has pronounced that Jovian was not bound to execute his promise, since he could not diminish the empire, and affluence, without these means, the happiness of his people. I have upon several words, delight or satisfaction, in each political or historical

appalled by the three successive defeats, which char.
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he had experienced under the walls of Nisibis. They still possessed arms and courage to repel the invaders of their country: they requested only the permission of using them in their own defence; and, as soon as they had asserted their independence, they should implore the favour of being again admitted into the rank of his subjects. Their arguments, their eloquence, their tones, were ineffectual. Jovian alleged, with some confusion, the scarcity of oats: and, as the reluctance with which he accepted the present of a crown of gold convinced the citizens of their hopeless condition, the advocate Sulpicius was provoked to exclaim,—“O emperor! may you thus be crowned by all the cities of your dominions!” Jovian, who, in a few weeks had assumed the habits of a prince,¹ was displeased with freedom, and offended with truth: and as he reasonably supposed, that the discontent of the people might incline them to submit to the Persian government, he published an edict, under pain of death, that they should leave the city within the term of three days. Ammianus has delineated in lively colours the scene of universal despair, which he seems to have viewed with an eye of compassion.² The martial youth deserted; with indignant grief, the walls which they had so gloriously defended: the consuls

¹ Jovian had performed a royal act: A letter, indeed, his name only was had been thought worthy of the people, was signed from copper, drawn into a web, and wound in round, without any form of seal, or evidence of gold. Ammian. xiv. 9.

² See xiv. 2, and *Constantine*, l. iii. p. 194, &c.

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mourner dropt a last tear over the tomb of a son or husband, which must soon be profaned by the rude hand of a barbarian master; and the aged citizen kissed the threshold, and ching to the doors, of the house; where he had passed the cheerful and careless hours of infancy. The highways were crowded with a trembling multitude: the distinctions of rank, and sex, and age, were lost in the general calamity. Every one strove to bear away some fragment from the wreck of his fortunes; and as they could not command the immediate service of an adequate number of horses or waggons, they were obliged to leave behind them the greatest part of their valuable effects. The savage insensibility of Jovian appears to have aggravated the hardships of these unhappy fugitives. They were seated, however, in a new-built quarter of Amida; and that rising city, with the reinforcement of a very considerable colony, soon recovered its former splendour, and became the capital of Mesopotamia.¹ Similar orders were despatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the castle of the Moors; and for the restitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his victory: and this ignominious peace has justly been considered as a memorable era in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predecessors of Jovian had sometimes relinquished the dominion of distant and unprofitable provinces; but, since the found-

¹ Chron. Paschal. p. 309. The resisterant Nisibis may be excepted.

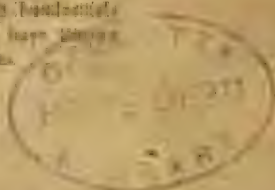
ation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god CHAP.
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[continued]
Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the sword of a victorious enemy.*

After Julian had performed those engage- Rufius-
Plautus on
the death
ments, which the voice of his people might have tempted him to violate, he hastened away from the scene of his disgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antioch.† Without consulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted, by humanity and gratitude, to bestow the last honours on the remains of his deceased sovereign:‡ and Procopius, who sincerely bewailed the loss of his kinsman, was removed from the command of the army, under the decent pretence of conducting the funeral. The corpse of Julian was transported from Nisibis to Tarsus, in a slow march of fifteen days; and, as it passed through the cities of the East, was saluted by the hostile factions, with mournful lamentations and clamorous insults. The pagans sincerely placed their beloved hero in the rank of those gods whose worship he had restored; while the invectives of the Christians pursued the soul

* Zosimus, l. iii. p. 198, 195: *Sententia Rufii de Proculis*, l. vii. Augustin de Civitat. Dei, l. vi. c. 28. The general passage may be applied and interpreted with some variation.

† Ammianus, l. xvi. p. 2. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 198. He ought to add, et cum Venerabili indigne. But I agree with La Blottiere, *l. iii. p. 118-119*, in rejecting the foolish report of a Runic salutation and of Julianus exhibited at Antioch, by the emperor, his wife, and a troop of comedians.

‡ The *Atta de la Biennale* l. iii. p. 156, 159. *l. iii. p. 156* reproduces the fatal dignity of Julian, who would have buried Julian in the dogs, as expressed Julian's reputation.



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of the apostate to hell, and his body to the grave.* One party lamented the approaching ruin of their affairs; the other celebrated the marvellous deliverance of the church. The Christians applauded, in lofty and malignous strains, the stroke of divine vengeance, which had been so long suspended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledged, that the death of the tyrant, at the instant he expired beyond the Tigris, was *revealed* to the saints of Egypt, Syria, and Cappadocia;† and, instead of suffering him to fall by the Persian darts, their indignation ascribed the heroic deed to the invisible hand of some mortal or immortal champion of the faith.‡ Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice, or credulity, of their adversaries:§ who darkly insinuated,

* Compare the sequel and the story, *Ullmann's Memoirs*, tom. II. p. 221, and *ibid.* *Prolog.* c. 126, p. 227; c. 128, p. 231, with Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* iv, p. 221-222. The Christian writers usually mention some revelation to saints, and *Origen* would not be so well satisfied, that the real sufferings of Julian will be cleared the fabulous tergiverses of *Origen* or *Tertullian*.

† *Tillemont* (1661, *his* *Exposition*, tom. II. p. 526) has collected these visions. Every spirit or angel was observed to be struck in the sight of a secret appearance, &c.

‡ *Ullmann* (ib. 41, 42) explains the Greek doctrine of *Apocrypha*, which the whole passage, which a few might have hesitated, is gradually expressed by the present Canon.

§ Immediately after the death of Julian, an insupportable rumour was circulated, viz. *crucifixion* *Barbarus*. It was carried by secret emissaries to the Persian camp; and the Emperor was represented as the assassin of the emperor by *Sapor* and his subjects, *Ullmann* 241. *Ullmann* de *historia* *Juliani* tom. v. 121, p. 102, 103. It was urged, as a decisive proof, that on Persia had appeared to crush the presumed coward, *Ullmann*, *Orat.* *Prolog.* c. 121, p. 226. But the flying Rumour, who carried the said Jewish, might be transient of its effect; or he might be slain in the same action. *Ullmann* 241. *Ullmann* *his* *Exposition* c. 126.

or confidently asserted, that the governors of the church had instigated and directed the fanaticism of a 'domestic assassin.' Above sixteen years after the death of Julian, the charge was solemnly and vehemently urged, in a public oration, addressed by Libanius to the emperor Theodosius. His suspicions are unsupported by fact or argument; and we can only esteem the generous zeal of the sophist of Antioch, for the cold and neglected ashes of his friend.*

It was an ancient custom in the funerals, ^{and games} as well as in the triumphs, of the Romans, that the voice of praise should be corrected by that of satire and ridicule; and that, in the midst of the splendid pageants, which displayed the glory of the living or of the dead, their imperfections should not be concealed from the eyes of the world.* This custom was practised in the funeral of Julian. The comedians, who vented his contempt and aversion for the theatre, exhibited, with the applause of a Christian audience, the lively and exaggerated representation

2.49. 1911. 1912. 1913. 1914. 1915. 1916. 1917. 1918. 1919. 1920. 1921. 1922. 1923. 1924. 1925. 1926. 1927. 1928. 1929. 1930. 1931. 1932. 1933. 1934. 1935. 1936. 1937. 1938. 1939. 1940. 1941. 1942. 1943. 1944. 1945. 1946. 1947. 1948. 1949. 1950. 1951. 1952. 1953. 1954. 1955. 1956. 1957. 1958. 1959. 1960. 1961. 1962. 1963. 1964. 1965. 1966. 1967. 1968. 1969. 1970. 1971. 1972. 1973. 1974. 1975. 1976. 1977. 1978. 1979. 1980. 1981. 1982. 1983. 1984. 1985. 1986. 1987. 1988. 1989. 1990. 1991. 1992. 1993. 1994. 1995. 1996. 1997. 1998. 1999. 2000. 2001. 2002. 2003. 2004. 2005. 2006. 2007. 2008. 2009. 2010. 2011. 2012. 2013. 2014. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2021. 2022. 2023. 2024. 2025. 2026. 2027. 2028. 2029. 2030. 2031. 2032. 2033. 2034. 2035. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2040. 2041. 2042. 2043. 2044. 2045. 2046. 2047. 2048. 2049. 2050. 2051. 2052. 2053. 2054. 2055. 2056. 2057. 2058. 2059. 2060. 2061. 2062. 2063. 2064. 2065. 2066. 2067. 2068. 2069. 2070. 2071. 2072. 2073. 2074. 2075. 2076. 2077. 2078. 2079. 2080. 2081. 2082. 2083. 2084. 2085. 2086. 2087. 2088. 2089. 2090. 2091. 2092. 2093. 2094. 2095. 2096. 2097. 2098. 2099. 2100. 2101. 2102. 2103. 2104. 2105. 2106. 2107. 2108. 2109. 2110. 2111. 2112. 2113. 2114. 2115. 2116. 2117. 2118. 2119. 2120. 2121. 2122. 2123. 2124. 2125. 2126. 2127. 2128. 2129. 2130. 2131. 2132. 2133. 2134. 2135. 2136. 2137. 2138. 2139. 2140. 2141. 2142. 2143. 2144. 2145. 2146. 2147. 2148. 2149. 2150. 2151. 2152. 2153. 2154. 2155. 2156. 2157. 2158. 2159. 2160. 2161. 2162. 2163. 2164. 2165. 2166. 2167. 2168. 2169. 2170. 2171. 2172. 2173. 2174. 2175. 2176. 2177. 2178. 2179. 2180. 2181. 2182. 2183. 2184. 2185. 2186. 2187. 2188. 2189. 2190. 2191. 2192. 2193. 2194. 2195. 2196. 2197. 2198. 2199. 2200. 2201. 2202. 2203. 2204. 2205. 2206. 2207. 2208. 2209. 2210. 2211. 2212. 2213. 2214. 2215. 2216. 2217. 2218. 2219. 2220. 2221. 2222. 2223. 2224. 2225. 2226. 2227. 2228. 2229. 2230. 2231. 2232. 2233. 2234. 2235. 2236. 2237. 2238. 2239. 2240. 2241. 2242. 2243. 2244. 2245. 2246. 2247. 2248. 2249. 2250. 2251. 2252. 2253. 2254. 2255. 2256. 2257. 2258. 2259. 2260. 2261. 2262. 2263. 2264. 2265. 2266. 2267. 2268. 2269. 2270. 2271. 2272. 2273. 2274. 2275. 2276. 2277. 2278. 2279. 2280. 2281. 2282. 2283. 2284. 2285. 2286. 2287. 2288. 2289. 2290. 2291. 2292. 2293. 2294. 2295. 2296. 2297. 2298. 2299. 2300. 2301. 2302. 2303. 2304. 2305. 2306. 2307. 2308. 2309. 2310. 2311. 2312. 2313. 2314. 2315. 2316. 2317. 2318. 2319. 2320. 2321. 2322. 2323. 2324. 2325. 2326. 2327. 2328. 2329. 2330. 2331. 2332. 2333. 2334. 2335. 2336. 2337. 2338. 2339. 2340. 2341. 2342. 2343. 2344. 2345. 2346. 2347. 2348. 2349. 2350. 2351. 2352. 2353. 2354. 2355. 2356. 2357. 2358. 2359. 2360. 2361. 2362. 2363. 2364. 2365. 2366. 2367. 2368. 2369. 2370. 2371. 2372. 2373. 2374. 2375. 2376. 2377. 2378. 2379. 2380. 2381. 2382. 2383. 2384. 2385. 2386. 2387. 2388. 2389. 2390. 2391. 2392. 2393. 2394. 2395. 2396. 2397. 2398. 2399. 2400. 2401. 2402. 2403. 2404. 2405. 2406. 2407. 2408. 2409. 2410. 2411. 2412. 2413. 2414. 2415. 2416. 2417. 2418. 2419. 2420. 2421. 2422. 2423. 2424. 2425. 2426. 2427. 2428. 2429. 2430. 2431. 2432. 2433. 2434. 2435. 2436. 2437. 2438. 2439. 2440. 2441. 2442. 2443. 2444. 2445. 2446. 2447. 2448. 2449. 2450. 2451. 2452. 2453. 2454. 2455. 2456. 2457. 2458. 2459. 2460. 2461. 2462. 2463. 2464. 2465. 2466. 2467. 2468. 2469. 2470. 2471. 2472. 2473. 2474. 2475. 2476. 2477. 2478. 2479. 2480. 2481. 2482. 2483. 2484. 2485. 2486. 2487. 2488. 2489. 2490. 2491. 2492. 2493. 2494. 2495. 2496. 2497. 2498. 2499. 2500. 2501. 2502. 2503. 2504. 2505. 2506. 2507. 2508. 2509. 2510. 2511. 2512. 2513. 2514. 2515. 2516. 2517. 2518. 2519. 2520. 2521. 2522. 2523. 2524. 2525. 2526. 2527. 2528. 2529. 2530. 2531. 2532. 2533. 2534. 2535. 2536. 2537. 2538. 2539. 2540. 2541. 2542. 2543. 2544. 2545. 2546. 2547. 2548. 2549. 2550. 2551. 2552. 2553. 2554. 2555. 2556. 2557. 2558. 2559. 2560. 2561. 2562. 2563. 2564. 2565. 2566. 2567. 2568. 2569. 2570. 2571. 2572. 2573. 2574. 2575. 2576. 2577. 2578. 2579. 2580. 2581. 2582. 2583. 2584. 2585. 2586. 2587. 2588. 2589. 2590. 2591. 25

* The Dallas Morning News, Dallas, Texas, 1904, 10, p. 145-170 contains proposals, demands on equity, and business, this point might still be abstract. He writes the names of the House in the editorial column of newspaper Dallas's death.

²⁴ At the Festival of Vegetation, the crowd that was persuaded that bread was good, ate only vegetables. Eusebius in his *Confessions* described the practice: "I abstain from the hard part of the corn, and devour any body with the Tyle." Rufinus, the Vegetarian, c. 196-198. The notes of Claudius and Commodus.

CHAP. of the faults and follies of the deceased emperor.
 XXX. His various character and singular manners
 afforded an ample scope for pleasantry and ridicule.¹ In the exercise of his uncommon talents, he often descended below the majesty of his rank. Alexander was transformed into Diogenes; the philosopher was degraded into a priest. The purity of his virtue was sullied by excessive vanity: his superstition disturbed the peace, and endangered the safety of a mighty empire: and his irregular sallies were the less entitled to indulgence, as they appeared to be the laborious efforts of art, or even of affectation. The remains of Julian were interred at Tarsus in Cilicia: but his stately tomb, which arose in that city, on the banks of the cold and limpid Cydnus,² was displeasing to the faithful friends, who loved and revered the memory of that extraordinary man. The philosopher expressed a very reasonable wish, that the disciple of Plato might have reposed amidst the groves of the academy: * while the soldier exclaimed in bolder accents, that the ashes of Julian should have been mingled with those of Caesar, in the field of Mars, and among the an-

¹ Gregory (*Hist. lxx. p. 110. 116*) compares this supposition of raising and subduing to the largest beams of Comenianus, whose body was charmed even to the Tarsus by a chain of angels.

* Quintus Curtius, l. iii. c. 8. The testimony of his deathly hour has been often celebrated: Yet it was almost the duty of the historian to describe a virtue, whose errors had already joined hand to Alexander.

² Libanius, *Orat. Paneg. c. 146*, p. 377. Yet for unknown motives he justifies the liberality of the imperial brethren in depositing the body of Julian, who alone, *Jul. viii. c. 7*, p. 113.

ment monuments of Roman virtue.* The history CHAP.
of princes does not very frequently renew the XXIV.
example of a similar competition.

* *Cajus* expresses it correctly, et qui tunc fuisse videtur, cum Calpurnius videtur, quoniam quidamque simul et signatus et ad perpetuandam gloriam tunc factum, promissumque Tiberio, cum tunc primum videtur, quoniam videtur monumenta (similis-
q. 24. *Annals*, lxx, 15.

CHAP. XXV.

The government and death of Jovian—Election of Valentinian, who associates his brother Valens, and makes the final division of the Eastern and Western empires—Revolt of Procopius—Civil and ecclesiastical administration—Germany—Hesbia—Africa—The East—The Danube—Death of Valentinian—His two sons, Gratian and Valentinian II, succeed to the Western empire.

CHAP.
XXV.

State of the
church,
A. D. 363.

THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous situation. The Roman army was saved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary treaty;^a and the first moments of peace were consecrated by the pious Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state. The indiscretion of his predecessor, instead of reconciling, had artfully fomented the religious war: and the balance which he affected to preserve between the hostile factions, served only to perpetuate the contest, by the vicissitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient possession and actual favour. The Christians had forgotten the spirit of the gospel; and the pagans had imbibed the spirit of the church. In private families, the sentiments of nature were

^a The medals of Jovian show him with a military sword (crown, and profane ensigns). Dange, *Paul. Symonin*, p. 52. Flavian is a Julian patriot; *she discovers herself with her own hands.

extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge: the majesty of the laws was violated or abused; the cities of the East were stained with blood; and the most implacable enemies of the Romans were in the bosom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profession of Christianity; and as he marched from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the Cross, the *LAVASEN* of Constantine, which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As soon as he ascended the throne, he transmitted a circular epistle to all the governors of provinces; in which he confessed the divine truth, and secured the legal establishment, of the Christian religion. The insidious edicts of Julian were abolished; the ecclesiastical communities were restored and enlarged; and Jovian condescended to lament, that the distress of the times obliged him to diminish the measure of charitable distributions.* The Christians were unanimous in the loud and sincere applause which they bestowed on the pious successor of Julian. But they were still ignorant what creed, or what synod, he would choose for the standard of orthodoxy; and the peace of the church immediately revived those eager disputes which had been suspended during

* Jovian's return to the church was equally sincere; & credible, and accompanied by a reformation, (Philostorgius, l. vii. c. 2, with Orléans's Dissertations, p. 329; Sozomen, l. vi. c. 31.) The new law which established the rate of marriage of slaves, (Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 48, leg. 34, is exaggerated by Sozomen; who supposes, that an enormous glut of the slaves of the East, was produced with death by the excessive hypocrisie.

episcopal throne: and he wisely accepted, or anticipated, the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanasius, his calm courage, and insinuating eloquence, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four successive princes.* As soon as he had gained the confidence, and secured the faith, of the Christian emperor, he returned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels, and undiminished vigour, to direct, ten years longer,[†] the ecclesiastical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the Catholic church. Before his departure from Antioch, he assured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanasius had reason to hope, that he should be allowed either the merit of a successful prediction, or the excuse of a grateful, though ineffectual, prayer.[‡]

* Athanasius, at the court of Antioch, is accurately represented by Mr. Bithelin, (*Hist. de l'Église*, tom. i. p. 181-186.) he translates the opinions and original sentiments of the emperor; the prince of Egypt, and the African bishops. The Abbé is not satisfied with the coarse philosophy of Jovian; but his passion for Athanasius overcomes, in his eyes, the character of Jovian.

† The true era of his death is perplexed with some difficulties, (*Williamson: Hist. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 719-723.*) But the date (A. D. 352, May 2) which agrees the most consistently with history and chronology, is ratified by his authentic *Vita*, (*Monast. Orientalis Litterarum*, tom. iii. p. 811.)

‡ See the observations of Valentin and Justin Claretius in *Acta Orientalis Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 286 on the original letter of Athanasius which is preserved by Theodoret, B. iv. c. 24. In some MSS. this illustrious prelate is omitted; perhaps by the Catholics, jealous of the prophetic power of their leaders.

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XV.

Jovian
paganism
restored
Christianity

The slightest force, when it is applied to assist and guide the natural descent of its object, operates with irresistible weight; and Jovian had the good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were supported by the spirit of the times, and the zeal and numbers of the most powerful sect.¹ Under his reign, Christianity obtained an easy and lasting victory; and as soon as the smile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of paganism, which had been fondly raised and cherished by the arts of Julian, sunk irrevocably in the dust. In many cities, the temples were shut or deserted; the philosophers, who had abused their transient favour, thought it prudent to shave their beards, and disguise their profession; and the Christians rejoiced, that they were now in a condition to forgive, or to revenge, the injuries which they had suffered under the preceding reign. The consternation of the pagan world was dispelled by a wise and gracious edict of toleration; in which Jovian explicitly declared, that although he should severely punish the sacrilegious rites of magic, his subjects might exercise, with freedom and safety, the ceremonies of the ancient worship. The memory of this law has been preserved by the orator Themistius, who was deputed by the senate of Constantinople

¹ *Antiquitates Imperatorum Theodosiorum*, l. iv. c. 3. It registers the entrance of the emperor, who received the whole *populus*, *populi christiani*, *non christiani*. This sentence was verified in the space of thirty or forty years.

² *Baronius*, l. vi. c. 24. *Gregory Nazianzenus* *Opera* v. p. 121a. and *Lactantius*, *Christ. Persecutio*, c. 186, p. 369, express the strong sentiments of these respective systems.

to express their loyal devotion for the new emperor. Themistius expatiates on the clemency of the Divine Nature, the facility of human error, the rights of conscience, and the independence of the mind; and, with some eloquence, inculcates the principles of philosophical toleration: whose aid Superstition herself, in the hour of her distress, is not ashamed to implore. He justly observes, that, in the recent changes, both religions had been ultimately disgraced by the screening acquiescence of worthless proselytes, of those votaries of the reigning purple, who could pass, without a reason, and without a blush, from the church to the temple, and from the altars of Jupiter to the sacred table of the Christians.¹

In the space of seven months, the Roman troops, who were now returned to Antioch, had performed a march of fifteen hundred miles: in which they had endured all the hardships of war, of famine, and of climate. Notwithstanding their services, their fatigues, and the approach of winter, the timid and impatient Julian allowed only, to the men and horses, a respite of six weeks. The emperor could not sustain the indiscreet and malicious raillery of the people of

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His progress from Antioch, A. D. 362, October.

¹ Themistius, Orat. v. p. 43-44. edit. Basilii, Paris, 1684. The Abbé de la Motte judiciously remarks, (Hist. de Julien, tom. v. p. 126, that Julian has forgot the general toleration and tranquillity the establishment of the Christian religion. Even of that remark every trace is obliterated: and Vossius, to support the force of the story the first Julianists, is his opponent, (2) the emperor Julian.

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Antioch.¹ He was impatient to possess the palace of Constantinople; and to prevent the ambition of some competitor, who might occupy the vacant allegiance of Europe. But he soon received the grateful intelligence, that his authority was acknowledged from the Thracian Bosphorus to the Atlantic ocean. By the first letters which he despatched from the camp of Mesopotamia, he had delegated the military command of Gaul and Illyricum to Malarich, a brave and faithful officer of the nation of the Franks; and to his father-in-law, Count Lucillian, who had formerly distinguished his courage and conduct in the defence of Nisibis. Malarich had declined an office to which he thought himself unequal; and Lucillian was massacred at Rheims, in an accidental motley of the Flavian cohorts.² But the moderation of Jovian, master-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his disgrace, soon appeased the tumult, and confirmed the uncertain minds of the soldiers. The oath of fidelity was administered, and taken with loyal acclamations; and the deputies of the Western armies³ saluted their new sovereign as he descended from Mount Taurus

¹ In a passage of this letter, *ipse venit ad Antiochenam*, some editors are inclined to see the sentence, *ipse venit ad Antiochenam*, (Ipsam Antiochenam). See, however, in Thiers, *Valentin*, p. 242. The words of Antioch may be admitted as very slight evidence.

² *Gregorius Anthonius*, (Cleric, 105), who notes the name of the Flavian, with Constantine, II. 36, p. 107, also reports the story of Lucillian being exposed to Strabon.

³ *Quia reges salutem suam exoptant, appellat.* *Strabon*, 117, 126, and *Valer. ad Idem*.

to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his hasty march to Ameyra, capital of the province of Galatia; where Jovian assumed, with his infant son, the name and ensigns of the consulship. Dadastana, an obscure town, almost at an equal distance between Ameyra and Nice, was marked for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himself with a plentiful, perhaps an intemperate, supper, he retired to rest; and the next morning the emperor Jovian was found dead in his bed. The cause of this sudden death was variously understood. By some it was ascribed to the consequences of an indigestion, occasioned either by the quantity of the wine, or the quality of the mushrooms, which he had swallowed in the evening. According to others he was suffocated in his sleep by the vapour of charcoal; which extracted from the walls of the apartment the maledictory moisture of the fresh plaster. But the want of a regular inquiry into the death

* Since the region's population is estimated to be around 200,000, rather than 100,000, as quoted here, perhaps government, opposition and the economic responsibility will find a representation of 100 for the house is perhaps wrong they stand to the constitution. But the small size of the new House had more than compensated for no fault.

* The University of Kentucky Blue Book, 1955. Printed under license, Nov. 1, 1957. From Lexington, (Wrensburg, Volume, p. 149). The physics of deceleration, by emitting some energy, reduces the whole system from 344 to 340 miles. Wrensburg, p. 314.

[illegible]

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of a prince, whose reign and person were soon forgotten, appears to have been the only circumstance which maintained the malicious whispers of poison and domestic guilt.* The body of Julian was sent to Constantinople, to be interred with his predecessors; and the sad procession was met on the road by his wife Chloria, the daughter of Count Lucillian; who still wept the recent death of her father, and was hastening to dry her tears in the embraces of an imperial husband. Her disappointment and grief were unaltered by the anxiety of maternal tenderness. Six weeks before the death of Julian, his infant son had been placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of *Nobilissimus*, and the vain ensigns of the consulship. Unconscious of his fortune, the royal youth, who, from his grandfather, assumed the name of Varonian, was reminded only by the jealousy of the government, that he was the son of an emperor. Sixteen years afterwards he was still alive, but he had already been deprived of an eye; and his afflicted mother expected, every hour, that the innocent victim would be torn from her arms, to appease with his blood the suspicions of the reigning prince.†

* Anonymous, remarkable for his great erudition and good sense, compares the death of the northern prince to that of the second Adrianus, who had excited the fears and resentment of the popular faction.

† Gregorius, *lib. i. p. 326, 344, 345.* Maffreus. The Chrysostomian promulgator resolves a widow by the example of illustrious emperors; and observes, that of nine emperors (including the Caesar Gallus) who had reigned in his time, only two (Constantine and Constantius) died a violent death. Each violent termination here was wiped away a calm one.

After the death of Jovian, the throne of the Roman world remained ten days' without a master. The ministers and generals still continued to meet in council; to exercise their respective functions; to maintain the public order; and peacefully to conduct the army to the city of Nice in Bithynia, which was chosen for the place of the election.* In a solemn assembly of the civil and military powers of the empire, the dilemma was again unanimously offered to the perfect Sallust. He enjoyed the glory of a second refusal; and when the virtues of the father were alleged in favour of his son, the prefect, with the firmness of a disinterested patriot, declared to the electors, that the feeble age of the one, and the inexperienced youth of the other, were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. Several candidates were proposed; and, after weighing the objections of character or situation, they were successively rejected; but, as soon as the name of Valentinian was pronounced, the merit of that officer united the

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Vacancy of
the throne,
Feb. 17, 361.

* Ten days appeared scarcely sufficient for the search and election. But it may be observed,—1. That the generals might command the expedition out of the public parks for themselves, their attendants, and menagerie. 2. That the troops, for one week of the winter, marched in heavy discipline; and that the head of the column might enter at Nice, where the host halted at Argyra.

* *Ammianus*, *viii.* c. 11. *Zosimus*, *ii.* c. 128. *Polihærogæte*, *l. viii.* c. 8, and *Geogr. Duxerit*, p. 334. *Polihærogæte*, who appears to have possessed some accurate and authentic intelligence, represents the choice of Valentinian to the perfect Sallust, the illustrious general Arinthius, Hippias, count of the domestic, and the Patrician Eutranus, whose pressing recommendation that Argyra had a weighty influence in the election.

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Electors
and the
character of
Valenti-
ninus.

endorsement of the whole assembly, and obtained the sincere approbation of Sedrast himself. Valentinus^a was the son of Count Gratian, a native of Cithalis, in Pannonia, who, from an obscure condition, had raised himself, by matchless strength and despatch, to the military commands of Africa and Britain; from which he retired, with an ample fortune and suspicious integrity. The rank and services of Gratian contributed, however, to smooth the first steps of the promotion of his son; and afforded him an early opportunity of displaying those solid and useful qualifications, which raised his character above the ordinary level of his fellow-soldiers. The person of Valentinus was tall, graceful, and majestic. His manly countenance, deeply marked with the impression of sense and spirit, inspired his friends with awe, and his enemies with fear: and, to second the efforts of his undaunted courage, the son of Gratian had inherited the advantages of a strong and healthy constitution. By the habits of chastity and temperance, which restrain the appetites and invigorate the faculties, Valentinus preserved his own, and the public, esteem. The occupations of a military life had diverted his youth from the elegant pursuits of literature; he was ignorant of the Greek language, and the arts of rhetoric; but as the mind of the orator was never disconcerted by timid perplexity, he was able, as often as the occasion prompted him,

^a Ammianus, l. xvi. c. 7, 8, and the younger Vopiscus, have furnished the portrait of Valentinus, which naturally precedes, and illustrates the history of his reign.

to deliver his decided sentiments with bold and ready elocution. The laws of martial discipline were the only laws that he had studied; and he was soon distinguished by the laborious diligence, and inflexible severity, with which he discharged and enforced the duties of the camp. In the time of Julian he provoked the danger of disgrace, by the contempt which he publicly expressed for the reigning religion:⁷ and it should seem, from his subsequent conduct, that the indiscreet and unseasonable freedom of Valentinian was the effect of military spirit, rather than of Christian zeal. He was pardoned, however, and still employed by a prince who esteemed his merit:⁸ and in the various events of the Persian war, he improved the reputation which he had already acquired on the banks of the Rhine. The celerity and success with which he executed an important commission, recommended him to the favour of Jovian, and to the honourable command of the second school, or company, of Targetteers, of the domestic guards. In the march from Antioch, he had reached his quarters at Ancyra, when he was unexpectedly summoned, without guilt, and without intrigue, to assume

⁷ At Antioch, where he was obliged to attend the disputes of the temple, he wrote a poem, who had presumed to quarrel long with Jewish sects, *Chabrian*, l. vi. v. 6; Theodoret, l. iii. c. 134. Such public defiance might become Valentinian; but it could have no room for the necessary delicacy of the philosopher Maximian, which suggests some more private offence. (*Constantin*, l. ii. p. 201, 202.)

⁸ *Notatus* l. vi. A person who is *Notatus*, or *Notatus*, (from *Notus* might be translated), is interpreted by *Notatus*, l. iii. c. 6, and *Philostorgius*, l. vi. c. 7, with *Galatius*'s *Notatus*, p. 225.

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He is an-
nounced by the
troops,
&c. &c. &c.

in the forty-third year of his age, the absolute government of the Roman empire.

The invitation of the ministers and generals at Nice was of little moment, unless it were confirmed by the voice of the army. The aged Silius, who had long observed the irregular fluctuations of popular assemblies, proposed, under pain of death, that none of those persons, whose rank in the service might excite a party in their favour, should appear in public, on the day of the inauguration. Yet such was the prevalence of ancient superstition, that a whole day was voluntarily added to this dangerous interval, because it happened to be the intercalation of the *Bissextile*.* At length, when the hour was supposed to be propitious, Valentinian descended himself from a lofty tribunal: the judicious choice was applauded: and the new prince was solemnly invested with the diadem and the purple, amidst the acclamations of the troops, who were disposed in martial order round the tribunal. But when he stretched forth his hand to address the armed multitude, a busy whisper was accidentally started in the ranks; and insensibly swelled into a loud and imperious clamour, that he should name, without delay, a colleague in the

* *Annussum*, is a leap, or leap year, or leap day, (Silius, lib. 1, and Valentinian ad Silius, really suggests that he had observed an astronomical question, of which the readers are ignorant. It is treated with more judgment and propriety by Cassiodorus, lib. 1, c. 20, and Cassiodorus, (Silius, lib. 1, c. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). The application of *Bissextile*, which means the leap year, (Silius, lib. 1, c. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100), is derived from the repetition of the word *bi* at the end of the word *sextile*.

empire. The intrepid calmness of Valentinian obtained silence, and unbounded respect; and he thus addressed the assembly.—“A few minutes since it was in *your* power, fellow-soldiers, to have left me in the obscurity of a private station. Judging, from the testimony of my past life, that I deserved to reign, you have placed me on the throne. It is now my duty to consult the safety and interest of the republic. The weight of the universe is undoubtedly too great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conscious of the limits of my abilities, and the uncertainty of my life: and for that declining, I am anxious to solicit, the assistance of a worthy colleague. But, where discord may be fatal, the choice of a faithful friend requires mature and serious deliberation. That deliberation shall be my cure. Let your conduct be dutiful and consistent. Retire to your quarters: refresh your minds and bodies; and expect the announcement on the accession of a new emperor.” The astonished troops, with a mixture of pride, of satisfaction, and of terror, confessed the voice of their master. Their angry clamours subsided into silent reverence; and Valentinian, encompassed with the eagles of the legions, and the various banners of the cavalry and infantry, was conducted, in warlike pomp, to the palace of Nixæ. As he was sensible, however, of the importance of preventing some rash

* Valentinian's first speech is full in *Ammianus*, (xvii. 4) *epistolæ* and *seminatus* or *Philostorgius*, (l. viii. c. 8). †

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and some-
times his
brother
Valens.
A. D. 364.
March 25.

declaration of the soldiers, he consulted the assembly of the chiefs: and their real sentiments were concisely expressed by the generous freedom of Dagalaiphus.—“Most excellent prince,” said that officer, “if you consider only your family, you have a brother; if you love the republic, look round for the most deserving of the Romans.” The emperor, who suppressed his displeasure, without altering his intention, slowly proceeded from Nice to Nicaëmia and Constantinople. In one of the suburbs of that capital, thirty days after his own elevation, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens; and as the boldest patriots were convinced, that their opposition, without being serviceable to their country, would be fatal to themselves, the declaration of his absolute will was received with silent submission. Valens was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age; but his abilities had never been exercised in any employment, military or civil; and his character had not inspired the world with any sanguine expectations. He possessed, however, one quality, which recommended him to Valentinian, and preserved the domestic peace of the empire: a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whose superiority of genius, as well as of authority,

* It was, when Dagalaiphus spoke, Julian (brother of Valentinian), quærens quærit valens. *Ammon.* lib. 1. c. To the favour of the emperor, Valentinian yielded that others remained his friends (c. 10).

* In submission, *Ammon.* lib. 1. c. The Roman *Proculus*, or *Julius* (Julius), was distant from Constantinople sixty-seven miles or more only. See Valens and his brother, *ad hoc* and *Demetrius*, *Geogr. &c.* p. 180, 241, 272, 273.

Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life.*

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LXXXV.

The last

edition of

the works

and notes

of the

author,

A. D. 1791.

LXXXV.

Before Valentinian divided the provinces, he reformed the administration of the empire. All ranks of subjects, who had been injured or oppressed under the reign of Julian, were invited to support their public accusations. The silence of mankind attested the spotless integrity of the prefect Sallust;† and his own pressing solicitations, that he might be permitted to retire from the business of the state, were rejected by Valentinian with the most honourable expressions of friendship and esteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor, there were many who had abused his credulity or superstition; and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or justice.‡ The greater part of the ministers of the palace, and the governors of the provinces, were removed from their respective stations; yet the eminent merit of some officers was distinguished from the obnoxious crowd, and, notwithstanding the opposite clamours of zeal and resentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate inquiry appear to have been con-

* Paterfamilias quibus legitimum potestatis ad se nullum applicabile ministerium, in propitiis speciebus. *Antonius*, lib. 8.

† Notwithstanding the evidence of Zonaras, Suetonius, and the Prefect Cassiodorus, M. de Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. 2, p. 1121) wishes to disbelieve their statue of verisimilitude and piety.

‡ Tillemont celebrates and exaggerates the infidelities of Maximian, lib. 22, c. 34, 35, to show, that this superstition or magic, the guilty conscience of Julian, and the personal injury to Valentinian, was the cause of the payment of a small fine.

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ducted with a reasonable share of wisdom and moderation.³ The festivity of a new reign received a short and suspicious interruption from the sudden illness of the two princes: but as soon as their health was restored, they left Constantinople in the beginning of the spring. In the castle or palace of Mediana, only three miles from Nisæus, they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire.⁴ Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich prefecture of the *East*, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike prefectures of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia to the foot of Mount Atlas. The provincial administration remained on its former basis: but a double supply of generals and magistrates was required for two councils, and two courts: the division was made with a just regard to their peculiar merit and situation, and seven master-generals were soon created, either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important business had been amicably transacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The emperor of the West established his temporary residence at Milan: and the emperor of the East returned to Constantinople, to assume

³ The *last* location of a general degree (Zaduria, l. i. c. 24) was obtained and refused by Theodosius, (Ibid. v. 2, p. 21).

⁴ Godefridus, xxi. c. 2.

the dominion of fifty provinces, of whose language he was totally ignorant.^a

The tranquillity of the East was soon disturbed by rebellion; and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempts of a rival, whose affinity to the emperor Julian^b was his sole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had been hastily promoted from the obscure station of a tribune, and a notary, to the joint command of the army of Mesopotamia; the public opinion already named him as the successor of a prince who was destitute of natural heirs; and a vain rumour was propagated by his friends, or his enemies, that Julian, before the altar of the Moon, at Carrhae, had privately invested Procopius with the imperial purple.^c He endeavoured, by his dutiful and submissive behaviour, to disarm the jealousy of Julian; resigned, without a contest, his military command; and retired, with his wife and family, to cultivate the amiable patrimony which he possessed in the province of Cappadocia. These useful and innocent

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Reign of
Procopius.
A.D. 361.
Sept. 75.

^a Ammianus says, in general terms, *inter omnia linguas, nec litteras nec characteres studuisse*. Ammian. xxi. 14. The same Procopius, with that position impudently of a Greek, would be the first man to speak the Latin language, the father of his country, and his own emperor. Ibid. vi. p. 11.

^b The uncertain degree of affinity, or consanguinity, is expressed by the words *consanguineus*, *consanguineus*, *consanguineus*. See Valerius ad Arrianum, viii. 15. The mother of Procopius, who bore a sister of Julian and Constantine, the mother and sister of the apostate Dalmatian. Symeon. p. 42.

^c Ammian. xxi. 14. xxi. 15. The historian tells us, with much confidence, *consanguineus* Julianus, *consanguineus* Julianus, *consanguineus* Julianus. It is proved, however, in truth, that Procopius was a Greek. Yet his language does not appear to have promoted, as it is supposed, his pretensions.

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occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer, with a band of soldiers, who, in the name of his new sovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was despatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius either to a perpetual prison, or an ignominious death. His presence of mind procured him a longer respite, and a more splendid fate. Without presuming to dispute the royal mandate, he requested the indulgence of a few moments to embrace his weeping family; and, while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterously escaped to the seacoast of the Euxine, from whence he passed over to the country of Bosphorus. In that sequestered region he remained many months, exposed to the hardships of exile, of solitude, and of want: his melancholy temper brooding over his misfortunes, and his mind agitated by the just apprehension, that if any accident should discover his name, the faithless barbarians would violate, without much scruple, the laws of hospitality. In a moment of impatience and despair, Procopius embarked in a merchant vessel, which made sail for Constantinople; and boldly aspired to the rank of a sovereign, because he was not allowed to enjoy the security of a subject. At first he lurked in the villages of Bithynia, continually changing his habitation, and his disguise.* By degrees he ventured into the capital,

* One of his retreats was a country-house of Eusebius, the bishop. The house was silent, lonely, ignorant; yet he secretly engaged a number of slaves, and was enabled to do the various parts of Maximian, (Palladius, l. ii. c. 4, 5, and Golding's *Diocet.* p. 349, 378.)

trusted his life and fortune to the fidelity of CHAP.
two friends, a senator and an eunuch, and con- XXX.
ceived some hopes of success, from the intel- NOTES.
ligence which he obtained of the actual state of
public affairs. The body of the people was in-
fected with a spirit of discontent: they regretted
the justice and the abilities of Sallust, who had
been imprudently dismissed from the prefecture
of the East. They despised the character of
Valens, which was rude without vigour, and
fickle without mildness. They dreaded the in-
fluence of his father-in-law, the patrician Pe-
trunius, a cruel and rapacious minister, who ri-
gorously exacted all the arrears of tribute that
might remain unpaid since the reign of the em-
peror Aurelian. The circumstances were pro-
pitious to the designs of an usurper. The hostile
measures of the Persians required the presence of
Valens in Syria: from the Danube to the Euphrates
the troops were in motion; and the capital was
occasionally filled with the soldiers who passed, or
regained, the Thracian Bosphorus. Two cohorts of
Gauls were persuaded to listen to the secret pro-
posals of the conspirators: which were recom-
mended by the promise of a liberal donative; and,
as they still revered the memory of Julian, they
easily consented to support the hereditary claim
of his proscribed kinsman. At the dawn of day
they were drawn up near the baths of An-
drosia; and Procopius, clothed in a purple
garment, more suitable to a player than to a
monarch, appeared, as if he rose from the

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dead, in the midst of Constantinople. The soldiers, who were prepared for his reception, saluted their trembling prince with shouts of joy, and vows of fidelity. Their numbers were soon increased by a sturdy band of peasants, collected from the adjacent country; and Procopius, shielded by the arms of his adherents, was successively conducted to the tribunal, the senate, and the palace. During the first moments of his tumultuous reign, he was astonished and terrified by the gloomy silence of the people; who were either ignorant of the cause, or apprehensive of the event. But his military strength was superior to any actual resistance: the malecontents flocked to the standard of rebellion; the poor were excited by the hopes, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obstinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promised advantages of a revolution. The magistrates were seized; the prisons and arsenals broke open; the gates, and the entrance of the harbour, were diligently occupied; and, in a few hours, Procopius became the absolute, though precarious, master of the imperial city. The usurper improved this unexpected success with some degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propagated the rumours and opinions the most favourable to his interest; while he deluded the populace by giving audience to the frequent, but imaginary, ambassadors of distant nations. The large bodies of troops stationed in the cities of Thrace, and the fortresses of the Lower Danube, were gradually involved in the

guilt of rebellion; and the Gothic princes consented to supply the sovereignty of Constantinople with the formidable strength of several thousand auxiliaries. His generals passed the Bosphorus, and subdued, without an effort, the unarmed, but wealthy, provinces of Bithynia and Asia. After an honourable defence, the city and island of Cyzicus yielded to his power; the renowned legions of the Jovians and Herculians embraced the cause of the usurper, whom they were ordered to crush; and, as the veterans were continually augmented with new levies, he soon appeared at the head of an army, whose valour, as well as numbers, were not unequal to the greatness of the contest. The son of Hormisdas,* a youth of spirit and ability, condescended to draw his sword against the lawful emperor of the East; and the Persian prince was immediately invested with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman provincial. The alliance of Faustina, the widow of the emperor Constantius, who intrusted herself and her daughter to the hands of the usurper, added dignity and reputation to his cause. The princess Constantia, who was then about five years of age, accompanied by a litter

* Hormisdas vocatur princeps Hormisdas regnum totius Asiae possidentem praesens ad illius et regis, nosse ceteros, et bella, negotia. Ammian. lib. 31. The Persian prince escaped with honour and safety, and was Hormisdas (A. D. 350) promoted to the same extraordinary office of possessor of Bithynia, Cilicia, &c. Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 244. I am ignorant whether the name of Hormisdas was perpetuated. I find (A. D. 311) a pope Hormisdas; but he was a native of Frosino, in Italy, (Pape, Nov. Pontifics, tom. I. p. 217).

1111

the march of the army. She was shown to the multitude in the arms of her adopted father, and as often as she passed through the ranks, the fierceness of the soldiers was inflamed into martial fury: they recollected the glories of the house of Constantine, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant.³

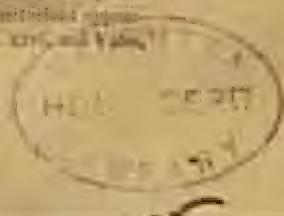
His Defeat
and Death,
A. D. 1708
May 26.

In the meanwhile, Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed, by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the East. The difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the safety of his own dominions; and, as every channel of communication was stop'd or corrupted, he listened, with doubtful anxiety, to the rumours which were industriously spread, that the defeat and death of Valens had left Procopius sole master of the eastern provinces. Valens was not dead; but, on the news of the rebellion, which he received at Cæsarea, he barely despaired of his life and fortune; proposed to negotiate with the usurper, and discovered his secret inclination to abdicate the imperial purple. The timid monarch was saved from disgrace and ruin by the firmness of his ministers, and their abilities soon decided in his

*The infant died before the birth of the pupae. See note, but she died young and healthy. *Am. Entom. Soc. Trans.* 6: 100, 1885, p. 38, 39.

* Squamous cell carcinoma occurs frequently, was the harbinger of Frey's syndrome, and afflicted us despite the standard therapy, and heretofore treatment, of the upper extremities. *Annals*, 1987, 7.

favour the event of the civil war. In a season of tranquillity, Sallust had resigned without a murmur; but as soon as the public safety was attacked, he ambitiously admitted the pre-eminence of toil and danger; and the restoration of the virtuous minister to the prefecture of the East, was the first step which indicated the repentance of Valens, and satisfied the minds of the people. The reign of Procopius was apparently supported by powerful armies, and obedient provinces. But many of the principal officers, military as well as civil, had been urged, either by motives of duty or interest, to withdraw themselves from the guilty scene; or to watch the moment of betraying, and deserting, the cause of the usurper. Lupicinus advanced, by hasty marches, to bring the legions of Syria to the aid of Valens. Arinthemus, who, in strength, beauty, and valour, excelled all the heroes of the age, attacked with a small troop a superior body of the rebels. When he beheld the faces of the soldiers who had served under his banner, he commanded them, with a loud voice, to seize and deliver up their pretended leader; and such was the marvellous of his genius, that this extraordinary order was instantly obeyed. Arbetio, a respectable veteran

[illegible]

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of the great Constantine, who had been distinguished by the honours of the consulship, was persuaded to leave his retirement, and once more to conduct an army into the field. In the heat of action, calmly taking off his helmet, he shewed his gray hairs, and venerable countenance; recalled the soldiers of Procopius by the endearing names of children and companions, and exhorted them no longer to support the desperate cause of a contemptible tyrant, but to follow their old commander, who had so often led them to honour and victory. In the two engagements of Thyatira* and Nacolia, the unfortunate Procopius was deserted by his troops, who were seduced by the instructions and example of their perfidious officers. After wandering sometime among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his desponding followers, conducted to the imperial camp, and immediately beleagued. He suffered the ordinary fate of an unsuccessful usurper; but the acts of cruelty which were exercised by the emperor, under the forms of legal justice, excited the pity and indignation of mankind.

* The same field of battle is placed by Ammianus in Lydia and by Zosimus at Thyatira; which are at the distance of 150 miles from each other. But Florinus affixes Lyca, *Opus. Hist. Novæ*, v. 21; *Cassius. Geography. Annot. tom. II. p. 194*; and the translators might easily mistake an obscure river for a well-known province.

† The adventures, usurpation, and fall of Procopius, are related in a regular series, by Ammianus, *lib. 23, 24, 25, 26*, and Zosimus, *l. c.*, p. 222-226. They also illustrate, and illustrate our historians, others. *Theophrastus. Opus. c. 21, p. 21, 22* still some have incorrectly and erroneously *l. c.*, *21, 22* some mistakes *l. c.*

Such indeed are the common and natural fruits of despotism and rebellion. But the inquisition into the crime of magic, which, under the reign of the two brothers, was so rigorously prosecuted both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal symptom, either of the displeasure of heaven, or of the depravity of mankind.* Let us not hesitate to indulge a liberal pride, that, in the present age, the enlightened part of Europe has abolished † a cruel and odious prejudice, which reigned in every climate of the globe, and adhered to every system of religious opinions.‡ The nations, and the sects, of the Roman world, admitted, with equal credulity, and similar authorities, the reality of that infernal art,§ which was able to control the eternal order of the planets, and the voluntary operations of the human mind. They drenched the

SEVEN IN-
QUANTITIES
into the
rooms of
Hans and
Annick,
A. D. 1774
Etc.

*Babylonian and other Eastern names, p. 122, 123. The workist declares the people's enemy, but he does not often think of his enemies in the progress of the movement.

* The French and English lawyers of the present age, after the theory, and with the progress of individualism, (Owen, *On the Principles of Political Economy*, 2d ed. London, 1813, p. 257; *Utilitarian's*, *Compendium*, vol. iv, p. 319). As political economy shows parents, or authorities, should restrain the present satisfactions (Esprit des Loix, book ii, c. 5, 8) to secure the welfare of the

¹ *San Diego de Acapulco*, tom. i, p. 267-268. The corpse of Montezuma, exhibited, according to his custom, a strange quality of being uncorrupted and lively with.

² The program distinguished between good and bad magic, the Theriac and the Toxic. *Historia 1^a Arabum*, Reims, 1510, p. 25. But they could not have defended this binary distinction against the entire logic of Boile. In the Jewish and Christian systems, all demons are inferior officials and all commerce with them is illicit. *Apocryph. 84*, which describes dark and demonic...

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mysterious power of spells and incantations, of potent herbs, and execrable rites: which could extinguish or recal life, influence the passions of the soul, blast the works of creation; and extort from the reluctant demons the secrets of futurity. They believed, with the wildest inconsistency, that this preternatural dominion of the air, of earth, and of hell, was exercised from the vilest motives of malice or gain, by some wrinkled hags, and itinerant sorcerers, who passed their obscure lives in penury and contempt.* The arts of magic were equally condemned by the public opinion, and by the laws of Rome; but as they tended to gratify the most imperious passions of the heart of man, they were continually proscribed, and continually practised.† An imaginary cause is capable of producing the most serious and mischievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor, or the success of a conspiracy, were calculated only to stimulate the hopes of ambition, and to dissolve the ties of fidelity: and the intentional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual crimes of trea-

* The *Comitia de Haruspicio* (Liv. l. 4, sec. 4, with Tacitus's and Festus's illustrations) is a college which. The *Furina* of Lucius (Plaut. *cl.* 173-182) is a woman, disgusting, but sometimes odious. She divides the duties of the *Furor*, and therefore, with tremendous character, or perhaps their best beauty, to reveal the long-extended continuance of Haruspices in details the secret powers that go below hell, &c.

† *Græci* sumuntur perindeque indidem, quædam *magia*, quædæ *magica* monita et verbaque magica et phantasmata. Tac. *l. Hist.* l. 22. See Augustin, *de Civitate Dei*, l. viii, c. 18; and the *Theatrum Magicæ*, l. 1, 11, 12, with Grotius's Commentary.

son and sacrilege.* Such vain terrors disturbed the peace of society, and the happiness of individuals; and the heartless flame which insensibly melted a waxen image, might derive a powerful and pernicious energy from the affrighted fancy of the person whom it was maliciously designed to represent.† From the infusion of those herbs, which were supposed to possess a supernatural influence, it was an easy step to the use of more substantial poison; and the folly of mankind sometimes became the instrument, and the work, of the most atrocious crimes. As soon as the zeal of informers was encouraged by the ministers of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuse to listen to another charge, too frequently mingled in the scenes of domestic guilt; a charge of a softer and less malignant nature, for which the pious, though extremely, rigour of Constantine had recently derived the punishment of death.‡

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* The poisoning of Valens was attended by a violent convulsion. The violent convulsion of the agonist was attended with a strong spasm, and a strong spasm, while Val was placed in the water, pointed to the fact the source of the cause of the future epilepsy. G. E. G. A. Theodorus (perhaps with many others who shared the fate of Valens) was executed. Theodorus executed. Lucius (Hilarius Testimonium, vol. II, p. 333-334) has especially and fairly examined this fact testimony of the reign of Valens.

† Compare the demand, at least at some points.

Can we suppose that ———— Vesp. Basilis. vol. II, p. 11.

De rebus antiquis. Historiarum etiam lib. 1.

Gen. in Epist. Hypoc. ad Jovian. p. 11.

Such was the situation of the mind, and the state of the mind of Constantine. Tacit. Annal. II, 99.

‡ See Hieronymus Adversus. Jov. Romani. loc. cit. p. 333, A. Tacit. Theodorus II, p. 11, 12, with Godding's Commentary.

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OF THE

This deadly and incoherent mixture of treason and magic, of poison and adultery, afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuse and aggravation, which, in these proceedings, appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt passions of the judges. They easily discovered, that the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated, by the imperial court, according to the number of executions that were furnished from their respective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a sentence of acquittal; but they eagerly admitted such evidence as was stained with perjury, or procured by torture, to prove the most improbable charges against the most respectable characters. The progress of the inquiry continually opened new subjects of criminal prosecution; the audacious informer, whose falsehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim, who discovered his real, or pretended, accomplices, was seldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia, the young, and the aged, were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philosophers, expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The soldiers, who were appointed to guard the prisons, declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were insufficient to oppose the flight, or resistance, of the multitude of captives. The wealthiest families were ruined by fines and confiscations; the

most innocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form some notion of the magnitude of the evil, from the extravagant assertion of an ancient writer, that, in the obnoxious provinces, the prisoners, the exiles, and the fugitives, formed the greatest part of the inhabitants!

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ANNO DOMINI

When Tacitus describes the deaths of the innocent and illustrious Romans, who were sacrificed to the cruelty of the first Caesars, the art of the historian, or the merit of the sufferers, excite in our breasts the most lively sensations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disgusting accuracy. But as our attention is no longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of recent greatness and of actual misery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions, which disgraced both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers.^a Valens was of a timid,^b and Valentinian of a choleric,

The cruelty of Valentinian and Valens, A. D. 354-375.

^a The exact persecution of Rome and Antioch is described, and most probably exaggerated, by Ammianus, (lib. 28, c. 10, 11, 12, and Tacitus, lib. 16, p. 218-219). The philosopher, Maximus, with some justice, was involved in the charge of magic, (Macrop. in Vit. Septim. p. 89, 90) and young Crispianus, who had accidentally found one of the prohibited books, gave himself the death, (Tillemont. Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 246).

^b Tacitus the old had books of Ammianus, and more particularly the particulars of the two royal brothers, (lib. 31, 32, 33, c. 11). Ammianus has collected from, c. p. 32-38, p. 175-178, from all authors their virtues and vices.

^c The passage Valens caecus, that he was blind (Ammon. p. 14) is false, we cannot every man would do, with decent consideration to the loss of his sight. The same Ammianus continues to prove, that he

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disposition.¹ An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. In the condition of a subject, he had shuddered, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppressor; and when he ascended the throne, he reasonably expected, that the same fears, which had subdued his own mind, would secure the patient submission of his people. The favourites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiscation, the wealth which his economy would have refused.² They urged, with persuasive eloquence, *that, in all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; that the power supposes the intention of mischief; that the intention is not less criminal than the act; and that a subject no longer deserves to live, if his life may threaten the safety, or disturb the repose, of his sovereign.* The judgment of Valentinian was sometimes deceived, and his confidence abused; but he would have silenced the informers with a contemptuous smile, had they presumed to alarm his fortitude by the sound of danger. They praised his inflexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was easily tempted to consider clemency as a weakness, and piety as a virtue. As long as he wrestled with

anger was limited. Numerous districts were given to soldiers and judges, to divide between them all crimes past, yet future persons and possessions remained in complete security.

¹ *Chen erect ad amplexabilem hunc inclinat pulchrum.* — *Plinius* per hunc sagittat et gladius. *Annals*, lxxi. c. *Plinius*, l.

² *A law transferred the property of rapine from Valens to his successor.* *Amalric* more properly belongs to Gratian than to Valens; to whom this power is commonly ascribed by ancient historians.

his equals, in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life. Valentinian was seldom injured, and never insulted, with impunity: if his prudence was arraigned, his spirit was applauded; and the jooudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of a fearless soldier. After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forgot, that where no resistance can be made, no courage can be exerted; and instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magnanimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper, at a time when they were disgraceful to himself, and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure. In the government of his household, or of his empire, slight, or even imaginary, offences; a hasty word, a casual omission, an involuntary delay, were chastised by a sentence of immediate death. The expressions which issued the most readily from the mouth of the emperor of the West were, "Strike off his head;"—"burn him alive;"—"let him be beaten with clubs till he expires;" and his most favoured ministers soon understood, that, by a rash attempt to dispute, or suspend, the execution of his sanguinary commands, they might involve themselves in the guilt and punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this savage

* He sometimes expressed a desire of death with a more ardent passion—"Ala, Calpurnia, te morte et cupio, et te libenter occiderem."—*Caesar*. "A beggar, who had begged for having a spear thrown at his head, who had made a polished shield that wanted some wound at the beginning of night, &c. were the picture of his fury."

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justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorse; and the saltness of passion were confirmed by the habits of cruelty.* He could behold with calm satisfaction the convulsive agonies of torture and death; he reserved his friendship for those faithful servants whose temper was the most congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had slaughtered the noblest families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation, and the prefecture of Gaul. Two fierce and voracious bears, distinguished by the appellations of *Innocence*, and *Miss Avarice*, could alone deserve to share the favour of Maximin. The cages of those trusty guards were always placed near the bed-chamber of Valentinian, who frequently amused his eyes with the grateful spectacle of seeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors who were abandoned to their rage. Their diet and exercises were carefully inspected by the Roman emperor; and when *Innocence* had earned her discharge by a long course of meritorious service, the faithful animal was again restored to the freedom of her native woods.†

* The *Innocence* of Miss Avarice was no longer and three opponents, whom Valentinian condemned for signifying a legal exemption. Avariciousness, to arrange by opposing that all who had been unjustly executed were re-ordained as martyrs by the Christians. His impartial silence does not allow us to believe, that the great number of his *Innocence* was burnt alive by no act of oppression, (Hume, *Philos.* 302.)

† It was common in some parts of the Empire, to burn alive the malefactors, and Valentinian of Rome.

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XXV.Their laws
and go-
vernment.

But in the calmer moments of reflection, when the mind of Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, the tyrant resumed the sentiments, or at least the conduct, of the father of his country. The dispassionate judgment of the Western emperor could clearly perceive, and accurately pursue, his own and the public interest; and the sovereign of the East, who imitated with equal docility the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was sometimes guided by the wisdom and virtue of the perfect Sallust. Both princes invariably retained, in the purple, the chaste and temperate simplicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign, the pleasures of the court never cost the people a blush or a sigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of the times of Constantius; judiciously adopted and improved the designs of Julian and his successor; and displayed a style and spirit of legislation which might inspire posterity with the most favourable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the master of *Innocence*, that we should expect the tender regard for the welfare of his subjects, which prompted Valentinian to condemn the exposition of new-born infants;* and to establish fourteen skilful phy-

* See the Code of Justinian, l. viii. tit. iii. leg. 2. Constantine's edictum seems partial. Good or evil manners prevail according to the laws that are established. For the present I shall not interfere in the dispute between Nodding and Hübner; but for, as long as the practical part has been considered or directed by the philosophy, and the more civilized state of society.

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sicians, with stipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. The good sense of an illiterate soldier founded an useful and liberal institution for the education of youth, and the support of declining science.* It was his intention that the arts of rhetoric and grammar should be taught in the Greek and Latin languages, in the metropolis of every province; and as the size and dignity of the school was usually proportioned to the importance of the city, the academics of Rome and Constantinople claimed a just and singular pre-eminence. The fragments of the literary edicts of Valentinian imperfectly represent the school of Constantinople, which was gradually improved by subsequent regulations. That school consisted of thirty-two professors in different branches of learning. One philosopher, and two lawyers; five sophists, and ten grammarians for the Greek, and three orators, and ten grammarians for the Latin, tongue: besides seven scribes, or, as they were then styled, antiquarians, whose laborious pens supplied the public libraries with fair and correct copies of the classic writers. The rule of conduct which was prescribed to the students, is the more curious, as it affords the first outlines of the form and discipline of a modern university. It was required, that they should bring proper certificates

* These salutary institutions are explained in the Theodosian Code, l. viii. tit. iii. *De Professoribus et Scholis*, and l. vii. tit. ix. *De Scholis Illustrium Civitatum Romanarum*. Besides our usual guides, (Lactantius, we may consult Maffius, *Historia de Napoli*, tom. i. p. 105-111), who has treated the interesting subject with the best and coolest of a man of letters, who studies his domestic history.

from the magistrates of their native province. Their names, professions, and places of abode, were regularly entered in a public register. The studious youth were severely prohibited from wasting their time in frosts, or in the theatre; and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. The prefect of the city was empowered to chastise the idle and refractory, by stripes or expulsion; and he was directed to make an annual report to the master of the offices, that the knowledge and abilities of the scholars might be usefully applied to the public service. The institutions of Valentinian contributed to secure the benefits of peace and plenty; and the cities were guarded by the establishment of the *Defensores*,^a freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people, to support their rights, and to expose their grievances, before the tribunals of the civil magistrates, or even at the foot of the imperial throne. The finances were diligently administered by two princes, who had been so long accustomed to the rigid economy of a private fortune; but in the receipt and application of the revenue, a discerning eye might observe some difference between the government of the East and of the West. Valens was persuaded, that royal liberality can be supplied only by public oppression, and his ambition never required to secure, by their actual distress, the future strength and prosperity of his people. Instead

^a *Edict. Theodos. l. i. c. 10.* with *Constantine's Decrees*, which are equally drawn from the rest of the code.

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VALENTINIAN.

of increasing the weight of taxes, which, in the space of forty years, had been gradually doubled, he reduced, in the first years of his reign, one-fourth of the tribute of the East.¹ Valentinian appears to have been less attentive and less anxious to relieve the burdens of his people. He might reform the abuses of the fiscal administration; but he exacted, without scruple, a very large share of the private property; as he was convinced that the revenues, which supported the luxury of individuals, would be much more advantageously employed for the defence and improvement of the state. The subjects of the East, who enjoyed the present benefit, applauded the indulgence of their prince. The solid, but less splendid, merit of Valentinian was felt and acknowledged by the subsequent generation.²

Valentinian seems to have taken the religious intolerance, A. D. 364-375.

But the most honourable circumstance of the character of Valentinian, is the firm and temperate impartiality which he uniformly preserved in an age of religious contention. His strong sense, unobscured, but uncorrupted, by study, declined, with respectful indifference, the subtle questions of theological debate. The govern-

¹ *Théodoret*, lib. viii. c. 14; *Constantine* a whole series of *Théodoret*, vol. i. p. 101-126, full of adjectives, adverbs, and circumlocutions. *The* *Théodoret*, lib. i. p. 368-384, has amused himself with exhibiting the virtues and graces of *Théodoret*, who was not unworthy of the age in which he lived.

² *Théodoret*, lib. vi. p. 202. *Ammonius*, lib. 3. His information is early shown to be false in the point of his proximity to his native parents, *Théodoret* *Théodoret* *Théodoret*. By *Théodoret*, the *Théodoret* was styled *Théodoret*, *Théodoret*, p. 120.

ment of the *Earth* claimed his vigilance, and satisfied his ambition; and while he remembered that he was the disciple of the church, he never forgot that he was the sovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apostate, he had signified his zeal for the honour of Christianity: he allowed to his subjects the privilege which he had assumed for himself; and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince, addicted to passion, but incapable of fear or of dissimulation.¹ The pagans, the Jews, and all the various sects which acknowledged the divine authority of Christ, were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular insult: nor was any mode of worship prohibited by Valentinian, except those secret and criminal practices, which abused the name of religion for the dark purposes of vice and disorder. The art of magic, as it was more cruelly punished, was more strictly proscribed: but the emperor admitted a formal distinction to protect the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the senate, and exercised by the Tuscan haruspices. He had condemned, with the consent of the most rational pagans, the licence of nocturnal sacrifices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Praetextatus, pro-

¹ These last legs a moi se passer. Impech moi d'être, qu'il est tout unique quod omnia uniuscuiusque arbitrio. *Opera Constantii adriani* ed. Cod. Theod. l. vi. c. i. §. 1. 2. To this declaration of Valentinian, we may add the various enactments of Arcadius, lxxi. §. 11. Zosimus, vi. c. p. 741. and Theodoret, ii. c. v. §. 11. Romans would naturally have such rational toleration. *Varro*, *Eclog.* A. D. 370, No. 126-127; A. D. 376, No. 3, &c.

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copied of Arhais, who represented, that the life of the Greeks would become dreary and win-terless, if they were deprived of the invaluable blessing of the Hecatomian mysteries. Philosophy alone can feast, (and perhaps it is no more than the feast of philosophy), that her gentle hand is able to expiate from the human mind the latent and deadly principle of fanaticism. But the truce of twelve years, which was enforced by the wise and vigorous government of Valentinian, by suspending the repetition of mutual injuries, contributed to soften the manners, and abate the prejudices, of the religious factions.

Valen-
tinian
proposes
Artemius,
and proposes
again the
union of the
A. D.
367-375.

The friend of toleration was unfortunately placed at a distance from the scene of the fiercest controversies. As soon as the Christians of the West had extricated themselves from the mazes of the creed of Rimini, they happily relapsed into the slumber of orthodoxy; and the small remains of the Arian party that still subsisted at Nisium or Milan, might be considered, rather as objects of contempt than of resentment. But in the provinces of the East, from the Euxine to the extremity of Thracia, the strength and numbers of the hostile factions were more equally balanced; and this equality, instead of recommending the counsels of peace, served only to perpetuate the horrors of religious war. The monks and bishops supported their arguments by invectives; and their invectives were sometimes followed by blows. Athanasius still reigned at Alexandria; the thrones of Constantinople

and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates, and every episcopal journey was the occasion of a popular tumult. The Homoiousians were fortified by the reconciliation of fifty-nine Macedonian, or Semi-Arian, bishops: but their secret reluctance to embrace the divinity of the Holy Ghost, clouded the splendour of the triumph: and the declaration of Valens, who, in the first years of his reign, had imitated the impartial conduct of his brother, was an important victory on the side of Arianism. The two brothers had passed their private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to solicit the sacrament of baptism, before he exposed his person to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addressed himself to Eudoxius,* bishop of the imperial city: and if the ignorant monarch was instructed by that Arian pastor in the principles of heterodox theology, his misfortune, rather than his guilt, was the inevitable consequence of his erroneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he must have offended a numerous party of his Christian subjects: as the leaders both of the Homoiousians and of the Arians believed, that, if they were not suffered to reign, they were most cruelly injured and oppressed.

* Eudoxius was of a mild and timid disposition. When he baptised Valens, (A. D. 367), he must have been extremely old: since he had studied theology thirty-four years before, under Licinius, a learned and pious ascetic. *Philostorg.* l. iii. c. 16, 17; l. vi. c. 4. *Orth. Doctrines*, p. 32, 33, and Tillemont, *Mém. Eclésiast.* tom. v. p. 414-421, &c.

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After he had taken this decisive step, it was extremely difficult for him to preserve either the virtue, or the reputation, of impartiality. He never aspired, like Constantine, to the name of a profound theologian; but, as he had received with simplicity and respect the tenets of Eusebius, Valens resigned his conscience to the direction of his ecclesiastical guides, and promoted, by the influence of his authority, the re-union of the *Athanasian heretics* to the body of the catholic church. At first, he pitied their blindness; by degrees he was provoked at their obstinacy; and he indignantly hated those sectaries to whom he was an object of hatred.² The feeble mind of Valens was always swayed by the persons with whom he familiarly conversed; and the exile or imprisonment of a private citizen are the punishments most readily granted in a despotic court. Such punishments were frequently inflicted on the leaders of the Homoeousian party; and the misfortune of *four score* ecclesiastics of Constantinople, who, perhaps accidentally, were burnt on shipboard, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated justice of the emperor, and his Arian ministers. In every contest, the catholics (if we may anticipate that name) were obliged to pay the penalty of their own faults, and of those of their adversaries. In every election, the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference; and if they were opposed by the majority of the

² Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. xxx.* p. 424) ascribes the persecuting spirit of the Arians, as an infallible criterion of error and heresy.

people, he was usually supported by the authority of the civil magistrate, or even by the terms of a military force. The enemies of Athanasius attempted to disturb the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who instantly flew to arms, intimidated the prefect; and the archbishop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory, after a reign of forty-seven years. The death of Athanasius was the signal of the persecution of Egypt; and the pagan minister of Valens, who forcibly seated the worthless Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favour of the reigning party by the blood and sufferings of their Christian brethren. The free toleration of the heathen and Jewish worship was bitterly lamented, as a circumstance which aggravated the misery of the catholics, and the guilt of the implacable tyrant of the East.

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—————

Death of
Athanasius.
A. D. 373.
May 2.

Just idea
of his per-
secution.

The triumph of the orthodox party has left a deep stain of persecution on the memory of Valens; and the character of a prince who derived his virtues, as well as his vices, from a feeble understanding, and a pusillanimous temper, scarcely deserves the labour of an apology. Yet candour may discover some reasons to suspect that the ecclesiastical ministers of Valens often exceeded the orders, or even the intentions, of

¹ This series of the ecclesiastical government of Valens is drawn from Sozomen, li. viii. Theodoret, li. vii. and the numerous compilations of Tillemont, *Apocryphal* vol. vi. 201. and 212.

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their master: and that the real measure of facts has been very liberally magnified by the vehement declamation and easy credulity of his antagonists.* 1. The silence of Valentinian may suggest a probable argument, that the partial severities, which were exercised in the name and provinces of his colleague, amounted only to some obscure and inconsiderable deviations from the established system of religious toleration; and the judicious historian, who has praised the equal temper of the elder brother, has not thought himself obliged to contrast the tranquillity of the West with the cruel persecution of the East." 2. Whatever credit may be allowed to vague and distant reports, the character, or at least the behaviour, of Valens may be most distinctly seen in his personal transactions with the eloquent Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, who had succeeded Athanasius in the management of the Trinitarian cause.^b The circumstantial narrative has been composed by the friends and admirers of Basil:

* Dr. Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv, p. 76) has already implied and intended the same supposition.

^a This sentence is so obvious and sensible, that Bede (H. iv, c. 22, 23) dates the persecution till after the death of Valentinian. Sozomen, in the same book, supposes (H. iv, c. 22), that it was occasioned by a philosophical sect, which Theodosius persecuted in the year 374, (*Hist. vii, p. 164*), in Latin only. Such considerations diminish the evidence, and soften the tone, of the persecution of Valens.

^b Tillemont, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted (Mss. Fr. des. xvi. c. vi, p. 125-161) the most authentic circumstances from the *Periages* of the two Gregories, the brother, and the friend, of Basil. The letter of Basil himself (*Dujoy. Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. ii, p. 125-161) do not present the image of a very lively persecution.

and as soon as we have stripped away a thick coat of rhetoric and miracle, we shall be astonished by the unexpected mildness of the Arian tyrant, who admired the firmness of his character, or was apprehensive, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. The archbishop, who asserted, with inflexible pride, the truth of his opinions, and the dignity of his rank, was left in the free possession of his conscience, and his throne. The emperor devoutly assisted at the solemn service of the cathedral; and, instead of a sentence of banishment, subscribed the donation of a valuable estate for the use of an hospital, which Basil had lately founded in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea.* 3. I am not able to discover, that any law (such as Theodosius afterwards enacted against the Arians) was published by Valens against the Athanasian sectaries; and the edict which excited the most violent clamours, may not appear so extremely reprehensible. The emperor had observed that several of his subjects, gratifying their luxur disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the count of the East

* Basilus Constantinus episcopus Cappadociae thesaur. thesaur. 1. 1. c. 1. quærentis continetur et legendi. bene cum Augustino esse pariter. This important passage is perfect in the text and character of its form. It does not appear in Stricker's edition of the *Chronicon*, but since Veselinus found it in 1500 and 1550, which had not been removed by the monks.

* The noble and charitable foundation (which is now still preserved in its purity, it was to grant, the pyramids, or the walls of Babylon. It was principally intended for the instruction of the poor. *Geogr. Sacramentum*, *Chron.* 1. 1. p. 438.

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to drag them from their solitude; and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair, alternative, of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens.* The ministers of Valens seem to have extended the sense of this penal statute, since they claimed a right of inflicting the young and able-bodied monks in the imperial armies. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, consisting of three thousand men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of Nitria;† which was peopled by five thousand monks. The soldiers were conducted by Arian priests; and it is reported, that a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the commands of their sovereign.‡

Valentinian
is mentioned
the apostle
of the
clergy.
A. D. 370.

The strict regulations which had been framed by the wisdom of modern legislators to restrain the wealth and avarice of the clergy, may be originally derived from the example of the emperor Valentinian. His edict,§ addressed to

* Cod. Theodos. l. vii. tit. lxxv. CC. *Constitutio* *clericorum*, l. c. p. 499-513, performs the duty of a recommendation and admonition. Theodosius (Hist. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 479) supposes a council was to remove the obstinate heretics, who had misinterpreted the will of Valens, and suppressed the liberty of dissent.

† See d'Acquille, *Description de l'Égypte*, p. 71. Herodotus I shall consider the monastic institutions.

‡ Socrates, l. iv. c. 34, 35; Orosius, l. vi. c. 33; *History of Theodosius*, p. 180, and book ii. p. 212. The monks of Egypt performed every service, which gave the room of their faith. Euseb. *repr. Justin*, (Hemerol. vol. iv. p. 37), but what proved the truth of these assertions?

§ Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. lxx. CC. *Constitutio*, *monachorum*, l. c. p. 879, after the example of Herodas, imperiously orders all that the fathers

Damasus, bishop of Rome, was publicly read in the churches of the city. He admonished the ecclesiastics and monks not to frequent the houses of widows and virgins; and menaced their disobedience with the annulment of the civil judge. The director was no longer permitted to receive any gift, or legacy, or inheritance, from the liberality of his spiritual daughter: every testament contrary to this edict was declared null and void; and the illegal donation was confiscated for the use of the treasury. By a subsequent regulation, it should seem, that the same provisions were extended to nuns and bishops; and that all persons of the ecclesiastical order were rendered incapable of receiving any testamentary gifts, and strictly confined to the natural and legal rights of inheritance. As the guardian of domestic happiness and virtue, Valentinian applied this severe remedy to the growing evil. In the capital of the empire, the females of noble and opulent houses possessed a very ample share of independent property; and many of those devout females had embraced the doctrines of Christianity, not only with the cold assent of the understanding, but with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the eagerness of fashion. They sacrificed the pleasures of dress and luxury; and renounced, for the praise of chastity, the soft endearments of conjugal society. Some eccle-

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Others have said on the subject of this important law, that it was long afterwards revived by the emperor Frederic II. Edward I of England, and other Christian princes who reigned after the twelfth century.

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sinistic, of real or apparent sanctity, was chosen to direct their timorous conscience, and to amuse the vacant tenderness of their heart: and the unbounded confidence, which they hastily bestowed, was often abused by knaves and enthusiasts; who lusted from the extremities of the East, to enjoy, on a splendid theatre, the privileges of the monastic profession. By their contempt of the world, they insensibly acquired its most desirable advantages; the lively attachment, perhaps, of a young and beautiful woman, the delicate plenty of an opulent household, and the respectful homage of the slaves, the freed men, and the clients of a senatorial family. The immense fortunes of the Roman ladies were gradually consumed in lavish abuse and expensive pilgrimages; and the artful monk, who had assigned himself the first, or possibly the sole, place, in the testament of his spiritual daughter, still presumed to declare, with the smooth face of hypocrisy, that he was only the instrument of charity, and the steward of the poor. The lucrative, but disgraceful, trade, which was exercised by the clergy to defraud the expectations of the natural heirs, had provoked the indignation of a superstitious age; and two of the most respectable of the Latin fathers very

The expressions which I have used are, *impudens* and *libidin.* If compared with the subsequent literature of Jerome from i. p. 18. 62. 144. And. In *de virtut.* he was reproached with the guilt which he imputed to his former monk; and the *desolatus*, the *Peripetia*, was publicly pursued as the lover of the widow *Paula*. (from ii. p. 204.) He undauntedly possessed the affections, both of the mother and the daughter; but he declares, that he never abused his seductions to any selfish or carnal purpose.

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honestly confess, that the ignominious edict of Valentinian was just and necessary: and that the Christian priests had deserved to lose a privilege which was still enjoyed by comedians, charioteers, and the ministers of idols. But the wisdom and authority of the legislator are seldom victorious in a contest with the vigilant dexterity of private interest; and Jerom, or Ambrose, might patiently acquiesce in the justice of an ineffectual or salutary law. If the ecclesiastics were checked in the pursuit of personal emolument, they would exert a more laudable industry to increase the wealth of the church; and dignify their covetousness with the specious names of piety and patriotism.*

Damasus, bishop of Rome, who was constrained to stigmatize the avarice of his clergy by the publication of the law of Valentinian, had the good sense or the good fortune to engage in his service the zeal and abilities of the learned Jerom; and the grateful saint has celebrated the merit and purity of a very ambiguous character.[†] But the splendid views of the church of Rome, under the reign of Valentinian and Damasus, have been curiously observed by the historian Ammianus, who delivers his impartial sense in

Archbishop
and luxury
of the
church,
bishop of
Rome,
A. D.
304-314.

* *Pudor dicere, sacerdotum libidinem, avaritiam et arrogantiam, et sancti benedictus capiamus: sed illud de se vultu de hoc loco profertur. Et non pudet de avaritia et persequutione, sed a persequutione Christianis. Nec de hoc querit: sed de hoc est meretur bene legem. Jerom, Quod i. p. 12) discreetly intimates the secret policy of his pious Damasus.*

† These words of Jerom, *sancti memorie Damasus*, *tom. ii. p. 410*, were away all his critics, and blind the devout eyes of Tillamont, *lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 324-325*.

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these expressive words.—“ The prefecture of
 “ Juvencius was accompanied with peace and
 “ plenty: but the tranquillity of his government
 “ was soon disturbed by a bloody sedition of the
 “ distracted people. The ardour of Damasus
 “ and Ursinus, to seize the episcopal seat, sur-
 “ passed the ordinary measure of human ambi-
 “ tion. They contended with the rage of party;
 “ the quarrel was maintained by the wounds and
 “ death of their followers; and the prefect, un-
 “ able to resist or to appease the tumult, was
 “ constrained, by superior violence, to retire
 “ into the suburbs. Damasus prevailed: the
 “ well-disputed victory remained on the side of
 “ his faction; one hundred and thirty-seven dead
 “ bodies* were found in the *Basilica* of *Sicini-*
 “ *mus*,” where the Christians hold their reli-
 “ gious assemblies; and it was long before the
 “ angry minds of the people resumed their ac-
 “ customed tranquillity. When I consider the
 “ splendour of the capital, I am not astonished
 “ that so valuable a prize should inflame the de-

* *Jerom* himself is forced to allow, *archiepiscopatus interfectionem* *divina* *verbo* *perpetuam*, *in Chron.* p. 166. But an original and a version of two passages of the *Admon. party*, has abundantly escaped. They affirm, that the doors of the *Basilica* were locked, and that *Ursinus* was killed; that *Damasus* marched at the head of his own clergy, *monachos*, *diaconos*, and *episcopos* *prophetas*; that many of his party were killed, but none were wounded and forty dead bodies were found. This passage is published by the *P. Bened.* in the first volume of his works.

* The *Basilica* of *Sicinius*, or *Ursinus*, is probably the Church of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, or the *Reginella* Ch. *Baronius*, A. D. 347, No. 34 and *Deanna*, *Roma Antiqua* at *Nova*, I. iv. c. 3, p. 412.

THAT city. Prætextatus was a philosophic pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness; who disguised a reproach in the form of a jest, when he assured Damasus, that if he could obtain the bishopric of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the Christian religion.* This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century, becomes the more curious, as it represents the intermediate degree between the humble poverty of the apostolic fisherman, and the royal state of a temporal prince, whose dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po.

Footnote
Ward, A. D.
364-373.

When the suffrage of the generals and of the army committed the sceptre of the Roman empire in the hands of Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military skill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms, as well as spirit, of ancient discipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerness of the troops, who pressed him to nominate his colleague, was justified by the dangerous situation of public affairs; and Valentinian himself was conscious, that the abilities of the most active

connected to such colonies, his religious and civil manners. He was sent by the Pontif of the East, and of Vatia, August, Quadenensis, Hierophant, &c. &c. In the letter, A. Quadenensis, were probably stated. 1. Prætext. 2. Censorius of Tarentum and Dardania. 3. Censorius of Lacedæmonia. 4. Proconsul of Achaia. 5. Prefect of Rome. 6. Prefecture picked of Italy. 7. Of Hydruntum. 8. Consul elect; but he died before the beginning of the year 364. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 342, 343.

* See the last Roman in his episcopate; it are previous Christians, Quadenensis, tom. ii. p. 163. It is more than probable, that Damasus would not have purchased his conversion at such a price.

mind were unequal to the defence of the distant frontiers of an invaded monarchy. As soon as the death of Julian had relieved the barbarians from the terror of his name, the most sanguine hopes of rapine and conquest excited the nations of the East, of the North, and of the South. Their incursions were often vexatious, and sometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmness and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his powerful genius seemed to inspire and direct the feeble councils of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly express the urgent and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the reader, likewise, would be distracted by a tedious and desultory narrative. A separate view of the five great theatres of war; I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The East; and, V. The Danube: will impress a more distinct image of the military state of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

I. The ambassadors of the Alemanni had been offended by the harsh and haughty behaviour of Ursacius, master of the offices;* who, by an act of unreasonable parsimony, had diminished the value, as well as the quantity, of the presents, to which they were entitled, either from custom or treaty, on the accession of a new emperor. They expressed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their strong sense of the

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L. Cæ.
xxxv.
The A. D.
passed to
page 282.
A. D. 364.

* *Ambrosius*, xlvii. 2. Valerius adds a long and good note on the manner of the offices.

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January.

national affront. The insoluble doubts of the chiefs were extinguished by the suspicion of contempt; and the martial youth crowded to their standards. Before Valentinian could pass the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his General Dagalaiphus could encounter the Alemanni, they had secured the captives and the spoil in the forests of Germany. In the beginning of the ensuing year, the military force of the whole nation, in deep and solid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhine, during the severity of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were defeated and mortally wounded; and the standard of the Heruli and Batavians fell into the hands of the conquerors, who displayed, with insulting shouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The standard was recovered; but the Batavians had not redeemed the shame of their disgrace and flight in the eyes of their severe judges. It was the opinion of Valentinian, that his soldiers must learn to fear their commander, before they could cease to fear the enemy. The troops were solemnly assembled; and the trembling Batavians were inclosed within the circle of the imperial army. Valentinian then ascended his tribunal; and, as if he disdained to punish cowardice with death, he inflicted a stain of indelible ignominy on the officers, whose misconduct and pusillanimity were found to be the first occasion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, stripped of their arms, and condemned to be sold for Slaves to the

highest bidder. At this tremendous sentence the troops fell prostrate on the ground, deprecated the indignation of their sovereign, and protested, that, if he would, indulge them in another trial, they would approve themselves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his soldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties: the Batavians resumed their arms; and, with their arms, the invincible resolution of wiping away their disgrace in the blood of the Alemanni.* The principal command was declined by Dagalaiphus; and that experienced general, who had represented, perhaps with too much prudence, the extreme difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, of seeing his rival Jovinus convert those difficulties into a decisive advantage over the scattered forces of the barbarians. At the head of a well-disciplined army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced, with cautious and rapid steps, to Scarponna,† in the territory of Metz, where he surprised a large division of the Alemanni, before they had time to run to their arms: and flushed his soldiers with the confidence of an easy and bloodless victory. Another division, or rather army, of the

That division.

* Ammian. xxvii. c. 12. Zosimus, l. iv. c. 22. The disgrace of the Batavians is expressed by the contemporary writers with a regard to military honour, which could not affect a Greek (descendant of the conquering age).

† See d'Acosta, *Notes de l'Empire Romain*, p. 281. The name of the Aquilon, which is not specified by Ammianus, is clearly indicated by Macrobius, (lib. ii. de Saturn. Saturnalia) vii. 31.

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enemy, after the cruel and wanton devastation of the adjacent country, reposed themselves on the shady banks of the Moselle. Jovinus, who had viewed the ground with the eye of a general, made his silent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could distinctly perceive the indolent security of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river; others were combing their long and flaxen hair; others again were swallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a sudden they heard the sound of the Roman trumpet; they saw the enemy in their camp. Astonishment produced disorder; disorder was followed by flight and dismay; and the confused multitude of the bravest warriors was pierced by the swords and javelins of the legionaries and auxiliaries. The fugitives escaped to the third and most considerable camp, in the Catalaunian plains, near Chalons in Champagne: the struggling detachments were hastily recalled to their standard; and the barbarian chiefs, alarmed and admonished by the fate of their companions, prepared to encounter, in a decisive battle, the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. The bloody and obstinate conflict lasted a whole summer's day, with equal valour, and with alternate success. The Romans at length prevailed, with the loss of about twelve hundred men. Six thousand of the Alemanni were slain, four thousand were wounded; and the brave Jovinus, after chasing the flying remnant of their host as far as the banks

of the Rhine, returned to Paris, to receive the applause of his sovereign, and the ensigns of the consulship for the ensuing year.* The triumph of the Romans was indeed sullied by their treatment of the captive king, whom they hung on a gibbet without the knowledge of their indignant general. This disgraceful act of cruelty, which might be imputed to the fury of the troops, was followed by the deliberate murder of Wislicob, the son of Vadomair; a German prince, of a weak and sickly constitution, but of a daring and formidable spirit. The domestic assassin was instigated and protected by the Romans;† and the violation of the laws of humanity and justice betrayed their secret apprehension of the weakness of the declining empire. The use of the dagger is seldom adopted in public councils, as long as they retain any confidence in the power of the sword.

While the Alemanni appeared to be humbled by their recent calamities, the pride of Valentinian was mortified by the unexpected surprise of Moguntiacum, or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the inauspicious moment of a Christian festival, Rando, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated his attempt, suddenly passed the Rhine, entered the defenceless town, and retired with a multitude of

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J. 445.

Valentinian passes and fortifies the Rhine. A. D. 368.

* The latter are described by Ammianus, lib. 31. and by Zosimus, lib. 17. p. 209. who supposes Valentinian to have been present.

† *Scilicet perverso mentium, symbolis.* Ammian. 31. lib. 31.

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captives of either sex. Valentinian resolved to execute severe vengeance on the whole body of the nation. Count Sebastian, with the bands of Italy and Illyricum, was ordered to invade their country, most probably on the side of Rhætia. The emperor in person, accompanied by his son Gratian, passed the Rhine at the head of a formidable army, which was supported on both flanks by Jovinus and Severus, the two masters-general of the cavalry and infantry of the West. The Alemanni, unable to prevent the devastation of their villages, fixed their camp on a lofty, and almost inaccessible, mountain, in the modern duchy of Wirtemberg, and resolutely expected the approach of the Romans. The life of Valentinian was exposed to imminent danger, by the intrepid curiosity with which he persisted to explore some secret and unguarded path. A troop of barbarians suddenly rose from their ambuscade; and the emperor, who vigorously spurred his horse down a steep and slippery descent, was obliged to leave behind him his armour-bearer, and his helmet, magnificently enriched with gold and precious stones. At the signal of the general assault, the Roman troops encompassed and ascended the mountain of Solicinnum on three different sides. Every step which they gained, increased their ardour, and abated the resistance of the enemy; and after their united forces had occupied the summit of the hill, they impetuously urged the barbarians down the northern descent, where Count Sebastian was posted to intercept their retreat. After this signal victory,

Valentinian returned to his winter-quarters at Treves; where he indulged the public joy by the exhibition of splendid and triumphal games.* But the wise monarch, instead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier, against an enemy, whose strength was renewed by a stream of daring volunteers, which incessantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the North.^b The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the straits of the ocean, were closely planted with strong castles and impenetrable towers; new works, and new arms, were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was skilled in the mechanical arts: and his numerous legions of Roman and barbarian youth were severely trained in all the exercises of war. The progress of the work, which was sometimes opposed by modest representations, and sometimes by hostile attempts, secured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine subsequent years of the administration of Valentinian.^c

* The expedition of Valentinian is related by Ammianus (lib. 31, c. 10), and celebrated by Ausonius, Ode, 437, &c. who justly supposes, that the Romans were ignorant of the secrets of the Rhine.

^b Justin's sixth article, just made an insupportable press, Valentinian remains unmoved; the virgin children, in full sight, with the necessary infants. Ammian. xxi. c. 12. The Count de Saxe (Hist. des Empereurs de France, tom. vi. p. 375) asserts the founding of the Rhine in their very adoption of strategy.

^c Ammian. xxviii. c. 2. Zosimus, l. vi. p. 214. The younger Pliny mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian, who even walked a finger back and down frequently.

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The Burgundians,

A. D. III.

That prudent emperor, who diligently practised the wise maxims of Diocletian, was studious to foment and excite the intestine divisions of the tribes of Germany. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Lusatia and Thuringia, on either side of the Elbe, were occupied by the vague dominion of the *BENUGUNDI*: a warlike and numerous people of the Vandal race,* whose obscure name insensibly swelled into a powerful kingdom, and has finally settled on a flourishing province. The most remarkable circumstance in the ancient manners of the Burgundians, appears to have been the difference of their civil and ecclesiastical constitution. The appellation of *Headman* was given to the king or general, and the title of *Siainus* to the high priest of the nation. The person of the priest was sacred, and his dignity perpetual; but the temporal government was held by a very precarious tenure. If the events of war accused the courage or conduct of the king, he was immediately deposed; and the injustice of his subjects made him responsible for the fertility of the earth, and the regularity of the seasons, which seemed to fall more properly within the sacerdotal department.† The disputed possession of

* *Balthazar et publici universi ceterique Germani*; *de his nationibus Germanis universis*. *Ammon.* XXIII, 4.

† *I am always apt to suspect* *Siainus* and *Siainus* of importing extraordinary facts into general laws. *Ammonius* describes a similar custom in Egypt; and the Chinese have imported it to the Tartars, or Russian empire, *see* *Coligny*, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. 2, part 2, p. 79.

some salt-pits¹ engaged the Alemanni and the Burgundians in frequent contests: the latter were easily tempted, by the secret solicitations, and liberal offers, of the emperor; and their falacious descent from the Roman soldiers, who had formerly been left to garrison the fortresses of Drusus, was admitted with mutual credulity, as it was conducive to mutual interest.² An army of fourscore thousand Burgundians soon appeared on the banks of the Rhine, and impatiently required the support and subsidies which Valentinian had promised: but they were amused with excuses and delays, till at length, after a fruitless expectation, they were compelled to retire. The arms and fortifications of the Gallic frontier checked the fury of their just resentment; and their massacre of the captives served to embitter the hereditary feud of the Burgundians and the Alemanni. The inconstancy of a wise prince may, perhaps, be explained by some alteration of circumstances; and perhaps it was the original design of Valentinian to intimidate, rather than to destroy, as the balance of power would have been equally overturned by the extirpation

¹ *Salarium Salinarum contra Alemannos impio jugulavit.* *Ammian. xxviii. 1.* Possibly they disputed the possession of the Sals, a river which produced salt, and which had been the object of ancient contention. Tacit. *Annal.* viii. 62. and *Lipsius* ad loc.

² *Jun. Iovis temporibus princeps solutus in vasa Romanorum, Burgundis advenit:* and the vague tradition gradually assumed a more regular form. *Chron.* i. 16, c. 27. It is amplified by the famous orthodoxy of Euseb., who composed the history of Drusus, and lived in Germany, (*His. Constant. Episc.* lib. ii. within sixty years after the death of that hero. *Grægorius in epist. apostolicis*) *Vindicta, quoniam pater Burgundis, &c.* (*Hist. Nativ.* ii. 28).

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THE DECLINE AND FALL

of either of the German nations. Among the princes of the Alemanni, Marcellinus, who, with a Roman name, had assumed the arts of a soldier and a statesman, deserved his hatred and esteem. The emperor himself, with a light and unencumbered hand, condescended to pass the Rhine, marched fifty miles into the country; and would infallibly have seized the object of his pursuit, if his judicious measures had not been defeated by the impatience of the troops. Marcellinus was afterwards admitted to the honour of a personal conference with the emperor; and the favours which he received, fixed him, till the hour of his death, a steady and sincere friend of the republic.*

The Sea-
Coast.

The land was covered by the fortifications of Valentian; but the sea-coast of Gaul and Britain was exposed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domestic interest, escaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy, it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cimbrie peninsula, and three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbe.† This contracted territory, the present

* The wars and regulations, which in the Burgundians and Alemanni, are distinctly related by Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVIII. 2; XXIX. 4; XXX. 2). Orosius (II. vii. c. 22), and the Chronicle of Jeron and Cassiodorus, 84, relate dates, and add some circumstances.

† See on various sea-coasts, a paper by Sallars. At the northern extremity of the peninsula, take the first promontory of Flory, or, The Flory; then the point of de Castel. III. 806 the interval between the Saxons and the coast with six obscure hills, who were united, in early in the sixth century, under the national appellation of Saxons. See CURT. German. Antiq. I. vii. c. 21, 22, 23.

Juchy of Sleswig, or perhaps of Holstein, was CHAP.
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incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the British island with their language, their laws, and their colonies: and who so long defended the liberty of the North against the arms of Charlemagne.* The solution of this difficulty is easily derived from the slender manners, and loose constitution, of the tribes of Germany: which were blended with each other by the slightest accidents of war or friendship. The situation of the native Saxons disposed them to embrace the hazardous professions of fishermen and pirates: and the success of their first adventures would naturally excite the emulation of their heaviest countrymen, who were impatient of the gloomy solitude of their woods and mountains. Every tide might float down the Elbe whole fleets of canoes, filled with hardy and intrepid associates, who aspired to behold the unbounded prospect of the ocean, and to taste the wealth and luxury of unknown worlds. It should seem probable, however, that the most numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furnished by the nations who dwelt along the shores of the Baltic. They possessed arms and ships, the art of navigation, and the habits of naval war, but the difficulty of issuing through the northern columns of Hereti-

* M. d'Arvile (Histoire des États de l'Empire, &c. p. 12-13) has marked the extensive limits of the Empire of Charlemagne.

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les,¹ (which, during several months of the year, are obstructed with ice), confined their skill and courage within the limits of a spacious lake. The rumour of the successful armaments which sailed from the mouth of the Elbe, would soon provoke them to cross the narrow isthmus of Sleswig, and to launch their vessels on the great sea. The various troops of pirates and adventurers, who fought under the same standard, were insensibly united in a permanent society, at first of rapine, and afterwards of government. A military confederation was gradually moulded into a national body, by the gentle operation of marriage and consanguinity; and the adjacent tribes, who solicited the alliance, accepted the name and laws, of the Saxons. If the fact were not established by the most unquestionable evidence, we should appear to abuse the credulity of our readers, by the description of the vessels in which the Saxon pirates ventured to sport in the waves of the German Ocean, the British Channel, and the Bay of Biscay. The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light timber, but the sides and upper works consisted only of wicker, with a covering of strong hides.²

¹ The fleet of Denmark had failed in their attempt to pass, or even to approach the Sound, repelled, from an obvious circumstance, the entrance of Helsingør; and the naval enterprise was never resumed, (Taetn. de Maribus German. c. 24.) The knowledge which the Danes acquired of the naval powers of the Baltic, (ib. 44, 45), was obtained by their first journeys in search of amber.

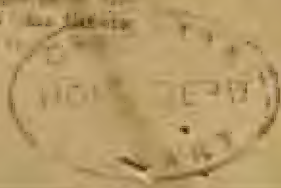
² *Quis et Antiquorum piratarum Scythæ testatur,——
Sperantes, et non posse saltem fulgere Britanniam
Latius: et assensu glaucum mare fœdare luto.*

*Sidon, in Periplus. Avit. 369.
The*

In the course of their slow and distant navigation, they must always have been exposed to the danger, and very frequently to the misfortune, of shipwreck: and the naval annals of the Saxons were undoubtedly filled with the accounts of the losses which they sustained on the coasts of Britain and Gaul. But the daring spirit of the pirates braved the perils, both of the sea, and of the shore: their skill was confirmed by the habits of enterprise; the meanest of their mariners was alike capable of handling an oar, or rearing a sail, or of conducting a vessel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempest, which concealed their design, and dispersed the fleets of the enemy.* After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime provinces of the West, they extended the scene of their depredations, and the most sequestered places had no reason to presume on their security. The Saxon boats drew so little water, that they could easily proceed fourscore or an hundred miles up the great rivers; their weight was so inconsiderable, that they were transported on a raft from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine, or of the

The process of Canal Languedoc for a particular instance, these small but light vessels which were successively used by the natives of Languedoc (Comment. on Bell. Gall. l. 47. and Geogr. Anc. German. Antiquit. Monum. tom. 2. p. 21. 46). The British vessels would not approach the gulf of Cambray.

* The last original account of the British pirates, under the reign of Augustus, is in Tacit. Ann. l. 12. c. 12. p. 122. with Strabo's and the last commentary in the Hist. de l'Etat de l'Empire de France de la Monarchie Française. An. 1712. t. 14. p. 146-147. See also Hist. de l'Etat de l'Empire de France de la Monarchie Française. An. 1712. t. 14. p. 146-147.



CHAP. Rhine, might descend, with the rapid stream of
 XXV. the Rhine, into the Mediterranean. Under the
 A. D. 311. reign of Valentinian, the maritime provinces of
 Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons: a military
 count was stationed for the defence of the sch-
 coast, in Armorican fluid; and that officer,
 who found his strength, or his abilities, unequal
 to the task, implored the assistance of Severus,
 master-general of the infantry. The Saxons,
 surrounded and out-numbered, were forced to
 relinquish their spoil, and to yield a select band
 of their tall and robust youth to serve in the
 imperial armies. They stipulated only a safe and
 honourable retreat: and the condition was read-
 ily granted by the Roman general: who med-
 itated an act of perfidy,* imprudent as it was
 inhuman, while a Saxon remained alive, and in
 arms, to revenge the fate of his countrymen.
 The premature eagerness of the infantry, who
 were secretly posted in a deep valley, betrayed
 the ambush; and they would perhaps have
 fallen the victims of their own treachery, if a
 large body of cuirassiers, alarmed by the noise
 of the combat, had not hastily advanced to ex-
 tinguish their complicity, and to overwhelm the
 undaunted valour of the Saxons. Some of the
 prisoners were saved from the edge of the sword,
 to shed their blood in the amphitheatre; and the
 orator Symmachus complains, that twenty-nine
 of those desperate savages, by struggling them-

* *Ammon. 13110*, is justified that much of faith to pirates and
 robbers; and *Orator. 13*, vol. 1, 325 more directly expresses their cruel
 and extreme sanguinary ferocity.

selves with their own hands, had disappointed the amusement of the public. Yet the polite and philosophic citizens of Rome were impressed with the deepest horror, when they were informed, that the Saxons consecrated to the gods the rythe of their *human* spoil; and that they ascertained by lot the objects of the barbarous sacrifice.²

CHAP.
XV.
continued.

II. The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which flattered the pride, and aroused the credulity, of our rude ancestors, have insensibly vanished in the light of science and philosophy.³ The present age is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent, to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved, in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners: and the peculiar characters of the British tribes, might be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental and local

II. See
Falk.
The Scots
and Picts

² Symmachus li. ii. epist. 46; and proceed to describe the sacred games of Scythians and philosophy. — Macrobius, Satyrn. li. ii. c. 10. might condemn li. viii. epist. 81 with less inconsistency, the human sacrifices of the Saxons.

³ In the beginning of the last century, the learned Camden was obliged to undertake, with respectful submission, the removal of *Abdus* the Trojan; who is now lodged in some distance with *Scota*, the daughter of Pharaoh, and her numerous progeny. Yet I am persuaded, that some exemplars of the *Irish* colony may still be traced among the original natives of Ireland. A people accustomed with their present condition, grant us any vision of their past or future glory.

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XXX.

circumstances.² The Roman province was reduced to the state of civilized and peaceful servitude: the rights of savage freedom were contracted to the narrow limits of Caledonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided as early as the reign of Constantine, between the two great tribes of the Scots and of the Picts,* who have since experienced a very different fortune. The power, and almost the memory, of the Picts, have been extinguished by their successful rivals: and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary union, the honours of the English name. The hand of nature had contributed to mark the ancient distinction of the Scots and Picts. The

¹ Tinsdale, in calling his father-in-law Episcopalian, might mean the Episcopate in Spanish conceptions of some British titles. But it was likely also Episcopalianism — in substance, more certainly — called Episcopalian when we speak of the *Episcopos* were deposed in England — 1534; when his father-in-law died, (in Feb. April 2, 1537) Ford had already died, even on religion. (Comment in *Relig. Hall*, Dec. 11, 1537) and in his time the migration from the *Major* God and a Priest, or at least an elevated priest, (c. 1537) Catholicism, the British *Worm*, too, had already succumbed our greatest antiquity (1537) would not have been a *Worm*, p. 1537.

• In the dark and confused pages of Columbus' biography, I have chosen the only golden thread woven and ligatured by tradition, which that dark and nebulous had peculiarly qualified for this effect. See Critical Dissertation on the Original Description, &c. of the Columbian, by Dr. John Marsham, London, 1808. In the last, I have drawn to the History of James Oglethorpe and Ireland, by James Marsham, Esq. London, 1772. In this, Marshall Dr. Marsham was a rival to the pen of Rapp, and it is a curious thing to remember for the present age, that a man, replete with antiquarian and erudition, should have been composed to the most vulgar of the sciences.

Cornish were the men of the hills, and the latter those of the plain. The eastern coast of Caledonia may be considered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude state of tillage, was capable of producing a considerable quantity of corn; and the epithet of *crustulæ*, or wheateaters, expressed the contempt, or envy, of the carnivorous highlander. The cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate separation of property, and the habits of a sedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was still the ruling passion of the Picts; and their warriors, who stripped themselves for a day of battle, were distinguished, in the eyes of the Romans, by the strange fashion of painting their naked bodies with gaudy colours and fantastic figures. The western part of Caledonia irregularly rises into wild and barren hills, which scarcely repay the toil of the husbandman, and are most profitably used for the pasture of cattle. The highlanders were accustomed to the occupations of shepherds and hunters; and as they seldom were fixed in any permanent habitation, they acquired the expressive name of *Scots*, which, in the Celtic tongue, is said to be equivalent to that of *vandærs*, or *vagrants*. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to seek a fresh supply of food in the waters. The deep lakes and bays which intersect their country, are plentifully stored with fish; and they gradually ventured to cast their nets in the waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides, so profusely scattered along the

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—

western coast of Scotland, tempted their curiosity, and improved their skill; and they acquired, by slow degrees, the art, or rather the habit, of managing their boats in a tempestuous sea, and of steering their nocturnal course by the light of the well-known stars. The two bold headlands of Caledonia almost touch the shores of a spacious island, which obtained, from its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of *Green*; and has preserved, with a slight alteration, the name of *Erin*, or *Ierne*, or *Ireland*. It is *probable*, that, in some remote period of antiquity, the fertile plains of Ulster received a colony of hungry Scots; and that the strangers of the North, who had dared to encounter the arms of the legions, spread their conquests over the savage and unwarlike natives of a solitary island. It is *certain*, that, in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledonia, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were inhabited by the Scots; and that the kindred tribes, who were often associated in military enterprise, were deeply affected by the various accidents of their mutual fortunes. They long cherished the lively tradition of their common name and origin; and the missionaries of the Isle of Saints, who diffused the light of Christianity over North Britain, established the vain opinion, that their Irish countrymen were the natural as well as spiritual fathers of the Scottish race. The loose and obscure tradition has been preserved by the venerable Bede, who scattered some rays of light over the darkness of the eighth century. On this

slight foundation, an huge superstructure of fable was gradually reared, by the hands, and the monks; two orders of men, who equally abused the privilege of fiction. The Scottish nation, with mistaken pride, adopted their Irish genealogy; and the annals of a long line of imaginary kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boethius, and the classic elegance of Buchanan.

Six years after the death of Constantine, the destructive inroads of the Scots and Picts required the presence of his youngest son, who reigned in the western empire. Constantius visited his British dominions; but we may form some estimate of the importance of his achievements, by the language of panegyric, which celebrates only

They in-
vaded of
Britain.
A. D.
343-350.

* The Irish descent of the Scots has been revived, in our last accounts of the army, and distinctly supported, by the Rev. Mr. Whistler, (*Hist. of Maximian*, vol. i. p. 429, 431) and *Classical History of the Romans*, second, vol. p. 124-125. Yet he acknowledges, 1. That the Scots of Ambrosius Maximian (A. D. 455) were already settled in Calabaria; and that the Romans neither do not afford any traces of their migration from another country. 2. That all the instances of such migrations, which have been noticed, or recorded, by Irish writers, namely, *Waldenses*, or *English* *Waldenses* (*Waldenses*, *Confreres*, *Waldenses*, *Waldenses*, &c.) are really fabulous. 3. That none of the Irish tribes, which are mentioned by Ptolemy, (A. D. 140), were of Calabrian extraction. 4. That a younger branch of Calabrian princes, of the house of Virgil, supplied and possessed the monarchy of Ireland. 5. That they considered the striking difference between Mr. Whistler and his advocates is minute and obscure. The genuine theory which he professes, is a theory, the result of chance, which was suggested (A. D. 520) from Ireland to Calabaria, it holds in a conjectural supplement to the *New poetry*; and the public relations of Richard of Calabaria, a youth of the fourteenth century. The Irish spirit of the learned and ingenious antiquarian has tempted him to begin the culture of a garden, which he is reluctantly detained, and is absolutely denied.

CHAR. his triumph over the elements; or, in other words, the good fortune of a safe and easy passage from the port of Boulogne to the harbour of Sandwich.* The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience, from foreign war and domestic tyranny, were aggravated by the feeble and corrupt administration of the *mauche* of Constantine; and the transient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian, was soon lost by the absence and death of their benefactor. The marts of gold and silver which had been painfully collected, or liberally transmitted, for the payment of the troops, were interrupted by the avarice of the commanders; discharges, or, at least, exemptions, from the military service, were publicly sold; the distress of the soldiers, who were injuriously deprived of their legal and scanty subsistence, provoked them to frequent desertion; the nerves of discipline were relaxed, and the highways were infested with robbers.[†] The oppression of the good, and the impunity of the wicked, equally contributed to diffuse through the island a spirit of discontent and revolt; and every ambitious subject, every desperate exile, might entertain a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and dis-

* These passages are mentioned by the following Greek and Roman writers: . . . Imperator Augustus *Historia Augusti* (epistolae). *Julianus Primus* *Historia de Eodem Imperatore*, lib. 1, p. 441, 442. *Historia de Eodem Imperatore*, lib. 1, p. 441, 442. *Historia de Eodem Imperatore*, lib. 1, p. 441, 442.

† *Historia de Eodem Imperatore*, lib. 1, p. 441. The various passages are changed the subject of our British antiquities.

tracted government of Britain. The hostile tribes of the North, who detested the pride and power of the King of the World, suspended their domestic feuds; and the barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves, with rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antonine to the shores of Kent. Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, which they were incapable of creating by labour, or procuring by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful provinces of Britain.* A philosopher may deplore the eternal discord of the human race, but he will confess, that the desire of spoil is a more rational provocation than the vanity of conquest. From the age of Constantine to that of the Plantagenets, this rapacious spirit continued to instigate the poor and hardy Caledonians: but the same people, whose generous humanity seems to inspire the songs of Ossian, was disgraced by a savage ignorance of the virtues of peace, and of the laws of war. Their southern neighbours have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts;† and a valiant

* The Caledonians pilloled and carried the gold, the silver, the flocks, &c. of the strangers. See Dr. Bish's *Illustration of Britain*, vol. 6, p. 244; and Mr. Macpherson's *Imitations*, p. 246-248.

† Lord Lifford has considerably related, *History of Henry II.* vol. 1, p. 104, and Sir David Dalrymple has rightly mentioned, *History of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 291, a barbarous insult of the Scots, at a time (A. D. 1137) when law, religion, and civility, must have softened their prompt violence.

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tribe of Caledonia, (the Artacotti,) the enemies, and afterwards the soldiers, of Valentinian, are accused, by an eye-witness, of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said, that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock; and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts, both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts.⁵ If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleasing hope, that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the Southern Hemisphere.

Every messenger who escaped across the British channel, conveyed the most melancholy and alarming tidings to the ears of Valentinian; and the emperor was soon informed, that the two military commanders of the province had been surprised and cut off by the barbarians. Severus,

* *Attacus latreillei* Guenée was taken. *Attacus* XIV, 8. *Caradon* (Hemiptera). It was discovered that the name is the same as the one of *Attacus*. The bands of *Attacus*, which *Attacus* had seen in *Attacus*, were apparently obtained by *Attacus* and *Attacus*, (Hemiptera, N. 100, 101).

* Compare *Microgaster* in *Hadzi* collection. Apparently the British species *Microgaster* *Hadzi* was also a common pest of the present group. It was certainly exceedingly frequent, particularly south of Saurashtra, peopled where they also, as far as other common defoliate insects. Such as the evidence of *Hadzi*, (see II, p. 12), which exactly fitted up insects to this list.

count of the domestics, was hastily despatched, and as suddenly recalled, by the court of Treves. The representations of Jovinus served only to indicate the greatness of the evil; and, after a long and serious consultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain, was intrusted to the abilities of the brave Theodosius. The exploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated, with peculiar complacency, by the writers of the age; but his real merit deserved their applause; and his nomination was received, by the army and province, as a sure pledge of approaching victory. He seized the favourable moment of mitigation, and securely headed the numerous and external bands of the Herali and Batavians, the Jovians and the Victorians. In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodosius defeated several parties of the barbarians, released a multitude of captives, and, after distributing to his soldiers a small portion of the spoil, established the fame of disinterested justice, by the restitution of the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London, who had almost despaired of their safety, throw open their gates; and as soon as Theodosius had obtained from the court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant, and a civil governor, he executed, with wisdom and vigour, the glorious task of the deliverance of Britain. The vagrant soldiers were recalled to their standard; an edict of amnesty dispelled the public apprehensions; and his cheerful example alleviated the

UTAT-
REY-
—————

A. D. 368
and 370.

rigour of martial discipline. The scattered and desultory warfare of the barbarians, who infested the land and sea, deprived him of the glory of a signal victory; but the prudent spirit, and consummate art, of the Roman general, were displayed in the operations of two campaigns, which successively rescued every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The splendour of the cities, and the security of the fortifications, were diligently restored, by the paternal care of Theodosius; who, with a strong hand, confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the island; and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of *Valentia*, the glories of the reign of Valentinian.³ The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps with some degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were stained with the blood of the Picts; that the ears of Theodosius dashed the waves of the Hyperborean ocean; and that the distant Oranys were the scene of his naval victory over the Saxon pirates.⁴ He left the province with a

³ Ammianus has minutely represented (lib. 14. cæc. 4; 2004. p. 1) every detail of the whole series of the British war.

⁴ *Marcescent . . . optima . . . superis Thule*

Ille . . . nos fides nominis Pictos

Induitur. Scythique vapores interuenit æquæ

Prope Hyperboreos remis adductum æquas

Classibus, in ut Com. Hæm. lib. 22. d. 1

——— *Madagascariæ fœtus fœci*

Oraxibus, innotuit Pictorum sanguine Thule

Remansit cæcæque fœci glaciæ fœces

In O. Cæc. Hæm. lib. 22. d. 1

fair, as well as splendid, reputation; and was immediately promoted to the rank of master-general of the cavalry, by a prince, who could applaud, without envy, the merit of his servants. In the important station of the Upper Danube, the conqueror of Britain checked and defeated the armies of the Alemanni, before he was chosen to suppress the revolt of Africa.

III. The prince who refuses to be the judge, instructs his people to consider him as the accomplice, of his ministers. The military command of Africa had been long exercised by Count Romanus, and his abilities were not inappropriate to his station: but, as avaricious interest was the sole motive of his conduct, he acted, on most occasions, as if he had been the enemy of the province, and the friend of the barbarians of the desert. The three flourishing cities of Oea, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripoli, had long constituted a federal union,* were obliged, for the first time, to shut their gates against a hostile invasion: several of their most honourable citizens were surprised and massacred; the villages, and even the suburbs, were pil-

See *Itinerarium Pictorum*, *De Pictura*, Vol. iii. c. 12. But it is not easy to appreciate the immense value of history and geography. Compare the fiscal value of Roman Africa, *Ann. c. 4*, p. 101, with the same, *Idem*, *De Agricola*, c. 18.

* Anonymous Geography mentions their confederate alliance, *Geographia*, &c. Leptis and Sabrata are long since ruined; but the city of Oea, the native country of Apollonius, still flourishes under the protection of Tripoli. See *Tellarius*, *Geographia*, *Antiqua*, tom. ii. part 2, p. 412; *D'Anville*, *Geographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 31, 32, and *Morand*, *Antiqua*, tom. ii. p. 362.

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laged; and the vines and fruit-trees of that rich territory were extirpated by the malicious savages of Gétula. The unhappy provincials implored the protection of Romanus; but they soon found that their military governor was not less cruel and rapacious than the barbarians. As they were incapable of furnishing the four thousand camels, and the exorbitant present, which he required, before he would march to the assistance of Tripoli; his demand was equivalent to a refusal, and he might justly be accused as the author of the public calamity. In the annual assembly of the three cities, they nominated two deputies, to lay at the feet of Valentinian the customary offering of a gold-victory; and to accompany this tribute, of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint, that they were ruined by the enemy, and betrayed by their governor. If the severity of Valentinian had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on the guilty head of Romanus. But the Goths, long exercised in the arts of corruption, had despatched a swift and trusty messenger to secure the venal friendship of Remigius, master of the militia. The wisdom of the imperial council was deceived by artifice, and their honest indignation was cooled by delay. At length, when the repetition of public misfortunes, the solitary Palladius was sent from the court of Treves, to examine the state of Africa, and the conduct of Romanus. The field impartiality of Palladius was easily dismissed: he

TALAN-
TAN.

was tempted to reserve for himself a part of the public treasure, which he brought with him for the payment of the troops; and from the moment that he was conscious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuse to attest the innocence and merit of the Count. The charge of the Tripolitans was declared to be false and frivolous; and Palladius himself was sent back from Treves to Africa, with a special commission to discover and prosecute the authors of this impious conspiracy against the representatives of the sovereign. His inquiries were managed with so much dexterity and success, that he compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had sustained a recent siege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own decrees, and to censure the behaviour of their own deputies. A bloody sentence was pronounced, without hesitation, by the rash and headstrong cruelty of Valentianus. The president of Tripoli, who had presumed to pity the distress of the province, was publicly executed at Utica; four distinguished citizens were put to death, as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tongues of two others were cut out, by the express order of the emperor. Romanus, elated by impunity, and irritated by resistance, was still continued in the military command: till the Africans were provoked by his avarice, to join the rebellious standard of Firmus, the Moor.

¹ *Augustus*, lib. 6. *Talant* (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. 6. p. 23, 24) has discussed the chronological estimation of the history of Count Romanus.

THAT.
XXV.
*Reign of
Firmus.*
A. D. 372

His father Nabal was one of the richest and most powerful of the Moorish princes, who acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. But as he left, either by his wives or concubines, a very numerous posterity, the wealthy inheritance was eagerly disputed; and Zannan, one of his sons, was slain in a domestic quarrel by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal with which Romanus prosecuted the legal revenge of this murder, could be ascribed only to a motive of ambition, or personal hatred: but, on this occasion, his claims were just; his influence was weighty; and Firmus clearly understood, that he must either present his neck to the executioner, or appeal from the sentence of the imperial consistory, to his sword, and to the people.* He was received as the deliverer of his country; and, as soon as it appeared that Romanus was formidable only to a submissive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of universal contempt. The ruin of Caesarea, which was plundered and burnt by the licentious barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of resistance: the power of Firmus was established, at least in the provinces of Mauritania and Numidia; and it seemed to be his only doubt, whether he should assume the diadem of a Moorish king, or the purple of a Roman emperor. But the imprudent

* The chronology of AMMIANUS is here well preserved; and Orosius (lib. 7. c. 33, p. 521, with the chronology) agrees to place the death of Firmus after the death of Valentinian and Valens. Sallustian (Hist. de Rom. rom. v. p. 381) seems more to join his way. The justness and well-attested mode of the story may be trusted in the most scrupulous critics.

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XXV.

THEodosius.

Theodo-

sius vict-

oris Afric-

46.

A. D. 372.

and unhappy Africans soon discovered, that, in this rash insurrection, they had not sufficiently consulted their own strength, or the abilities of their leader. Before he could procure any certain intelligence, that the emperor of the West had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of transports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was suddenly informed that the great Theodosius, with the small band of veterans, had landed near Igililis, or Gigeri, on the African coast: and the timid usurper sunk under the ascendant of virtue and military genius. Though Firmus possessed arms and treasures, his despair of victory immediately reduced him to the use of those arts, which, in the same country, and in a similar situation, had formerly been practised by the crafty Jugurtha. He attempted to deceive, by an apparent submission, the vigilance of the Roman general; to seduce the fidelity of his troops; and to protract the duration of the war, by successively engaging the independent tribes of Africa to espouse his quarrel, or to protect his flight. Theodosius imitated the example, and obtained the success, of his predecessor Metellus. When Firmus, in the character of a suppliant, accused his own rashness, and humbly solicited the clemency of the emperor, the lieutenant of Valentinian received and dismissed him with a friendly embrace; but he diligently required the useful and substantial pledges of a sincere repentance; nor could he be persuaded, by the assurances of peace, to suspend, for an

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continued

instant, the operations of an active war. A dark conspiracy was detected by the penetration of Theodosius; and he satisfied, without much reluctance, the public indignation, which he had secretly excited. Several of the guilty accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ancient custom, to the tumult of a military execution; many more, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to exhibit an instructive spectacle of horror; the hatred of the rebels was accompanied with fear; and the fear of the Roman soldiers was mingled with respectful admiration. Amidst the boundless plains of Getulia, and the innumerable valleys of mount Atlas, it was impossible to prevent the escape of Firmus; and if the usurper could have tired the patience of his antagonist, he would have secured his person in the depth of some remote solitude, and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He was solaced by the perseverance of Theodosius, who had formed an inflexible determination, that the war should end only by the death of the tyrant; and that every nation of Africa, which presumed to support his cause, should be involved in his ruin. At the head of a small body of troops, which seldom exceeded three thousand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced with a steady prudence, devoid of rashness or of fear, into the heart of a country, where he was sometimes attacked by armies of twenty thousand Moors. The boldness of his charge dismayed the irregular barbarians; they were disconcerted

by his reasonable and orderly retreats; they were continually baffled by the unknown resources of the military art; and they felt and confessed the just superiority which was assumed by the leader of a civilized nation. When Theodosius entered the extensive dominions of Iguazun, king of the Isathens, the haughty savage required, in words of defiance, his name, and the object of his expedition. "I am," replied the stern and disdainful count, "I am the general of Valentinian, the lord of the world; who has sent me hither to pursue and punish a desperate robber. Deliver him instantly into my hands; and be assured, that, if thou dost not obey the commands of my invincible sovereign, thou, and the people over whom thou reignest, shall be utterly exterminated." As soon as Iguazun was satisfied, that his enemy had strength and resolution to execute the fatal measure, he consented to purchase a necessary peace by the sacrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to secure the person of Iguazun, deprived him of the hopes of escape; and the Moorish tyrant, after wine had extinguished the sense of danger, disappointed the insulting triumph of the Romans, by strangling himself in the night. His dead body, the only present which Iguazun could offer to the conqueror, was carelessly thrown upon a camel, and Theodosius, leading back his victorious troops to Nith,^a was

^a *Ammon. l. 12, c. 2.* The text of this long chapter differs considerably in location and collection; but the narrative is preserved in the text of several good and preserved manuscripts.

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He is con-
sidered as
Carthage.
A. D. 376.

saluted by the warmest acclamations of joy and loyalty.

Africa had been lost by the vices of Romanus; it was restored by the virtues of Theodosius; and our curiosity may be usefully directed to the inquiry of the respective treatment which the two generals received from the imperial court. The authority of Count Romanus had been suspended by the master-general of the cavalry; and he was committed to safe and honourable custody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the most authentic evidence; and the public expected, with some impatience, the decree of severe justice. But the partial and powerful favour of Mellobaudes encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpose of procuring a crowd of friendly witnesses, and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct, by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the same time, the restorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague suspicion that his name and services were superior to the rank of a subject, was ignominiously beleaguered at Carthage. Valentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodosius, as well as the impunity of Romanus, may justly be imputed to the arts of the ministers, who abused the confidence, and deceived the inexperienced youth, of his sons.

State of
Africa.

If the geographical accuracy of Ammianus had

¹ Ammianus, xxviii. & Orosius, l. iii. c. 23, p. 441, 442.
Justin. ii. viii. p. 147.

been fortunately bestowed on the British exploits of Theodosius, we should have traced, with eager curiosity, the distinct and domestic footsteps of his march. But the tedious enumeration of the unknown and uninteresting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark, that they were all of the swarthy race of the Moors: that they inhabited the back settlements of the Mauritanian and Numidian provinces, the country, as they have since been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locusts;¹ and that, as the Roman power declined in Africa, the boundary of civilized manners and cultivated land was insensibly contracted. Beyond the utmost limits of the Moors, the vast and inhospitable desert of the South extends above a thousand miles to the banks of the Niger. The ancients, who had a very faint and imperfect knowledge of the great peninsula of Africa, were sometimes tempted to believe, that the torrid zone must ever remain destitute of inhabitants:² and they sometimes amused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather giants;³ with

¹ *Les Africains de la Vierge de Bamboe*, tom. 1, 62, 79-80. He found a curious picture of the people and the country, which are more adequately described in the *Africus de Marcellin*, tom. II, p. 1-44.

² This inhabitable zone was gradually reduced by the improvements of modern geography, from forty-five to twenty-four, or even sixteen, degrees of latitude. See a curious and judicious note of Dr. Robertson, *Hist. of America*, vol. 1, p. 425.

³ *Idem*, a reader like, *vis jam homines atque gentes . . . Minusque, Satque, &c.* Pomponius Mela, l. 4, p. 28, edit. Voss. in *Nov.* Pliny philosophically explains (vi, 32) the description of giants, which he had credulously admitted, (v, 9).

the effect either of their virtue, or of their pusillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites; and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility. But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence, or of destruction: they appear incapable of forming any extensive plans of government, or conquest; and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thousand blacks are annually embarked from the coast of Guinea, never to return to their native country: but they are embarked in chains; and this constant emigration, which, in the space of two centuries, might have furnished armies to overrun the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe, and the wickedness of Africa.

IV. The ignominious treaty which saved the army of Jovian, had been faithfully executed on the side of the Romans; and as they had solemnly renounced the sovereignty and alliance of Armenia and Iberia, these tributary kingdoms were exposed, without protection, to the arms of the Persian monarch.* Sozes entered the Arme-

15. *That
Warrior
The Poet
and the
A. D.
2013-2018*

* The width and length columns of the valuable *Histories des Voyages* describe the present state of the regions. The names of the countries have been printed by *Barrow* (unmodified), and those of the inland peoples have been derived by *Barrow* (unmodified).

L'Hopital's University of Medicine, 400 Ave. de la Paix, 1001

¹ The articles of Al-Khwārizmī in *al-jabr* and *al-hisāb*, *revue*, 17; *Annales de l'école*, 18, no. 17, p. 164, and 1884, p. 107, and *Principes de l'algèbre*, 1884, p. 17, etc. have been corrected: two different hypotheses, with different minor facts, represent the same theory, and involve no change, and we will have the same result.

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nian territories at the head of a formidable host of cuirassiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot: but it was the invariable practice of Sapor to mix war and negotiation, and to consider falsehood and perjury as the most powerful instruments of regal policy. He affected to praise the prudent and moderate conduct of the king of Armenia; and the unsuspecting Tiridates was persuaded, by the repeated assurances of unilious friendship, to deliver his person into the hands of a faithless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of silver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arsacides; and, after a short confinement in the Tower of Oblivion at Ecbatana, he was released from the miseries of life, either by his own dagger, or by that of an assassin. The kingdom of Armenia was reduced to the state of a Persian province; the administration was shared between a distinguished satrap and a favourite eunuch; and Sapor marched, without delay, to subdue the martial spirit of the Iberians. Sauromaces, who reigned in that country by the permission of the emperors, was expelled by a superior force: and, as an insult on the majesty of Rome, the King of kings placed a diadem on the head of his abject vassal Aspacuras. The city of Artogeranus^a was the only place of Armenia which presumed

^a Perhaps Artagera, or Artia; either whose walls Colat, the grandson of Augustus, was wounded. This fortress was situated near Artida, near one of the sources of the Tigris. See d'Anville's *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 106.

to resist the effort of his arms. The treasure deposited in that strong fortress tempted the avarice of Sapor: but the danger of Olympias, the wife, or widow, of the Armenian king, excited the public compassion, and animated the desperate valour of her subjects and soldiers. The Persians were surprised and repulsed under the walls of Artogerassa, by a bold and well-concerted sally of the besieged. But the forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increased: the hopeless courage of the garrison was exhausted: the strength of the walls yielded to the assault; and the proud conqueror, after wasting the rebellious city with fire and sword, led away captive an unfortunate queen; who, in a more auspicious hour, had been the destined bride of the son of Constantine.* Yet if Sapor already triumphed in the easy conquest of two dependant kingdoms, he soon felt, that a country is unsubdued, as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hostile and contumacious spirit. The satraps, whom he was obliged to trust, embraced the first opportunity of regaining the affection of their countrymen, and of signaling their immortal hatred to the Persian name. Since the conversion of the Armenians and Iberians, those nations considered the Christians as the favourites, and the Magians as the adversaries, of the Supreme Being; the influence of the clergy, over a superstitious people, was uniformly exert-

* Tiberius (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 301) asserts, from Livy's story, that Olympias must have been the mother of Paul.

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ed to the cause of Rome; and as long as the successors of Constantine disposed with those of Armenia, the sovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious emulation always threw a decisive advantage into the scale of the empire. A numerous and active party acknowledged Pars, the son of Tiranes, as the lawful sovereign of Armenia; and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary succession of six hundred years. By the unanimous consent of the Romans, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and Aspacurus, who owed his diadem to the choice of Sapor, was obliged to declare, that his regard for his children, who were detained as hostages by the tyrant, was the only consideration which prevented him from openly renouncing the alliance of Persia. The emperor Valens, who respected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehensive of involving the East in a dangerous war, contented, with slow and cautious measures, to support the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legions established the authority of Saporians on the banks of the Cyrus. The Euphrates was protected by the valour of Arimians. A powerful army, under the command of Count Trojan, and of Vasilounir, king of the Alamanos, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were strictly enjoined, not to commit the least hostilities, which might be understood as a breach of the treaty; and such was the implicit obedience of the Ro-

man general, that they retreated with exemplary patience, under a shower of Persian arrows, till they had clearly acquired a just title to an honourable and legitimate victory. Yet these appearances of war insensibly subsided in a vain and tedious negotiation. The contending parties supported their claims by mutual reproaches of perfidy and audacity; and it should seem that the original treaty was expressed in very obscure terms, since they were reduced to the necessity of making their inconclusive appeal to the partial testimony of the generals of the two nations, who had assisted at the negotiations.* The invasion of the Goths and Huns, which soon afterwards shook the foundations of the Roman empire, exposed the provinces of Asia to the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmities, of the monarch, suggested new maxims of tranquillity and moderation. His death, which happened in the full maturity of a reign of seventy years, changed in a moment the court and councils of Persia; and their attention was most probably engaged by domestic troubles, and the distant efforts of a Carmanian war.†

* Ammianus Marcell. II. c. 21. l. 1. &c. l. 11. has described the events without the names of the Persian king. *Annales d'Ammian.* t. II. l. 28, p. 241 & t. III. p. 282 c. 33, p. 312. *Annals* were additional facts; but it is extremely difficult to separate truth from fiction.

† Ammianus was the eunuch and brother of the eunuch-prince of the great Sapor; and the guardian of his son Sapor III. *Geograph. A. M.* p. 137, *Ann. Ammian.* But the *Universal History*, vol. vi. p. 381, 381. The authors of that projected work have transcribed the Sassanian dynasty with credulous and diligence; but it is a most pernicious arrangement to divide the Persian and Arabian accounts into two distinct histories.

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the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms of Ar-
menia and Media were permitted, by the mutual,
though tacit, consent of both empires, to resume
their doubtful neutrality. In the first years of
the reign of Thraschides, a Persian embassy ar-
rived at Constantinople, to excuse the unjustifi-
able measures of the former reign: and to offer,
as the tribute of friendship, or even of respect, a
splendid present of gems, of silk, and of Indian
elephants.*

In the general picture of the affairs of the East under the reign of Valens, the adventures of Parthian form one of the most striking and singular objects. The noble youth, by the persuasion of his mother Olympias, had escaped through the Persian host that besieged Artogerases, and implored the protection of the emperor of the East. By his bold councils, Parthian was alternately supported, and recalled, and restored, and betrayed. The hopes of the Armenians were sometimes raised by the presence of their natural sovereign; and the ministers of Valens were satisfied, that they preserved the integrity of the public faith, if their vassal was not suffered to assume the diadem and title of king. But they soon repented of their own rashness. They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Persian monarch. They found reason to distrust the cruel and inconstant temper of Parthian himself; who

² *Parvulus* in *Panegyri*, Vol. 11, and *Quintus*, 1-14, is 111.

sacrificed, to the slightest suspicions, the lives of his most faithful servants; and held a secret and disgraceful correspondence with the assassin of his father and the enemy of his country. Under the specious pretence of consulting with the emperor on the subject of their common interest, Para was persuaded to descend from the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to trust his independence and safety to the discretion of a perfidious court. The king of Armenia, for such he appeared in his own eyes and in those of his nation, was received with due honours by the governors of the provinces through which he passed; but when he arrived at Tarsos in Cilicia, his progress was stopped under various pretences; his motions were watched with respectful vigilance; and he gradually discovered, that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans. Para suppressed his indignation, dissimulated his fears, and, after secretly preparing his escape, mounted on horseback with three hundred of his faithful followers. The officer stationed at the door of his apartment immediately communicated his flight to the consular of Cilicia, who overtook him in the suburbs, and endeavoured, without success, to dissuade him from prosecuting his rash and dangerous design. A legion was ordered to pursue the royal fugitive; but the pursuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light cavalry; and upon the first shower of arrows that was discharged into the air, they retreated with precipitation to

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the gates of Tarsus. After an incessant march of two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians reached the banks of the Euphrates; but the passage of the river, which they were obliged to swim, was attended with some delay and some loss. The country was shutted; and the two roads, which were only separated by an interval of three miles, had been occupied by a thousand archers on horseback, under the command of a count and a tribune. Para must have yielded to superior force, if the accidental arrival of a friendly traveller had not revealed the danger, and the means of escape. A dark and almost imperious path secretly conveyed the Armenian troop through the thicket; and Para had left behind him the count and the tribune, while they patiently expected his approach along the public highways. They returned to the imperial court to excuse their want of diligence or success; and seriously alleged, that the king of Armenia, who was a skilled magician, had transformed himself and his followers, and passed before their eyes under a horned shape. After his return to his native kingdom, Para still continued to profess himself the friend and ally of the Romans; but the Romans had injured him too deeply ever to forgive, and the secret sentence of his death was signed in the council of Valens. The execution of the bloody deed was committed to the subtle guidance of Count Trajan; and he had the merit of insinuating himself into the confidence of the credulous prince, that he might find an oppor-

sanity of stabbing him to the heart. Turn was
invited to a Roman banquet, which had been
prepared with all the pomp and sensuality of the
East: the hall resounded with cheerful music;
and the company was already heated with wine:
when the count retired for an instant, drew his
sword, and gave the signal of the murder. A
robust and desperate barbarian instantly rushed
on the king of Armenia: and though he bravely
defended his life with the first weapon that chance
offered to his hand, the table of the imperial
general was stained with the royal blood of a
guest, and an ally. Such were the weak and
sleeked maxims of the Roman administration,
that, to attain a doubtful object of political in-
terest, the laws of nations, and the sacred rights of
hospitality, were inhumanly violated in the face
of the world.*

V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years,
the Romans secured their frontiers, and the Goths
extended their dominions. The victories of the
great *Thiodoric*,^b king of the Ostrogoths, and
the most noble of the race of the Amals, have
been compared by the enthusiasm of his coun-
trymen, to the exploits of Alexander: with this
singular, and almost incredible, difference, that

V. THE
HISTORY
COMPARISON
OF THESE
KINGS.

* See 1. 1. *Thiodoric* (350). By the assassination of *Pagan*, Master
of the Palace under *Julius* *Thiodoric*, and thus a rough and not happy-
fellow, any of his own kindred, who should have been his most popular
in Armenia, and rejected the journey of the reigning king, 1. 1. c.
11. 2. p. 211, 212.

^b The noblest remains of the *Thiodoric* and *Thiodoric* of *Thiodoric*,
which is the name of the noblest fragments which *Thiodoric* is, the
believed from the noblest fragments of *Thiodoric*, or *Thiodoric*.

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the martial spirit of the Gothic hero, instead of being supported by the vigour of youth, was displayed with glory and success in the extreme period of human life : between the age of fourscore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Ostrogoths as the sovereign of the Gothic nation ; the chiefs of the Visigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of *Judges* ; and among those judges, Athanaric, Frithigern, and Alavivus, were the most illustrious, by their personal merit, as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. These domestic conquests, which increased the military power of Hermanric, enlarged his ambitious designs. He invaded the adjacent countries of the north ; and twelve considerable nations, whose names and limits cannot be accurately defined, successively yielded to the superiority of the Gothic arms.* The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Mæotis, were renowned for their strength and agility ; and the assistance of their light infantry was eagerly solicited, and highly esteemed, in all the wars of the barbarians. But the active spirit of the Heruli was subdued by the slow and steady

* M. de Buat *Histoire des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 311-319, Heruliens, with more industry than success, the nation subdued by the arms of Hermanric. He denies the existence of the Fœderation as a subject of the immediate history of this event. Yet the French copy in *Reliquæ*, as *Frankish* must have retained the memory of the *Mediomanni*.

perseverance of the Goths; and after a bloody action, in which the king was slain, the remains of that warlike tribe became an useful accession to the camp of Hermanric. He then marched against the Venedi; unskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the contest, by the decisive advantages of exercise and discipline. After the submission of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced without resistance, as far as the confines of the *Æstii*;* an ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia. These distant inhabitants of the Baltic coast were supported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the trade of amber, and consecrated by the peculiar worship of the Mother of the Gods. But the scarcity of iron obliged the *Æstian* warriors to content themselves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is ascribed to the prowess, rather than to the arms, of Hermanric. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the earlier seats, and the recent acquisitions, of the Goths; and he reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a

* The nation of *Æstian* (Goths), p. 347, extends the name of 2500. The names and the languages of the Goths passed the sea, where manners and customs, and observed by the people of Iceland, *Historia*, p. 421.

1914.

part of the globe incapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes. The name of Hermann is almost buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known; and the Romans themselves appeared unconscious of the progress of an aspiring power, which threatened the liberty of the North, and the peace of the empire."

THE GAMES
OF THE
WINTER.

The Goths had contracted an hereditary attachment for the imperial house of Constantine, of whose power and liberality they had received so many signal proofs. They respected the public peace; and if an hostile band sometimes presumed to pass the Roman limit, their irregular conduct was candidly ascribed to the ungovernable spirit of the barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obscure princes, who had been raised to the throne by a popular election, inspired the Goths with bolder hopes; and, while they agitated some design of marching their confederate forces under the national standard, they were easily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius; and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil discord of the Romans. The public treaty might stipulate no more than ten thousand auxiliaries; but the design was so zealously adopted by the chiefs of the Visigoths, that

¹ See, e.g., *Wright*, 32 *Adv. Crim. L. & Crim. Justice*, 1-10 (1966).

* Valeri . . . , *Sagittaria arifolia* Desfont., *guttata* Gleditsch, et *tempestas* rubra et alioquin varietates, et *guttata* et alia, ad persicandam parat reflectit Theophrastus. Atropis. Lib. 8.

the army which passed the Danube amounted to the number of thirty thousand men.¹ They marched with the proud confidence, that their invincible valour would decide the fate of the Roman empire: and the provinces of Thrace groaned under the weight of the barbarians, who displayed the insolence of masters, and the fierceness of enemies. But the intemperance which gratified their appetites, retarded their progress: and before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived, by the hostile state of the country, that the civil and military powers were resumed by his successful rival. A chain of posts and fortifications, skilfully disposed by Valens, or the generals of Valens, resisted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their subsistence. The fierceness of the barbarians was tamed and suspended by hunger: they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains: the numerous captives were distributed in all the cities of the East: and the provincials, who were soon familiarized with their savage appearance, ventured, by degrees, to measure their own strength with these formidable adversaries, whose name had so long been the object of their terror. The king of Scythia (and Hermundur alone could deserve so lofty a title) was grieved and exas-

¹ H. de Buns (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 226) has erroneously exceeded the real number of those barbarians. The 3,000 of Asmatians, and the 10,000 of Taurians, were only the first divisions of the Gothic army.

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perated by this national calamity. His ambassadors loudly complained, at the court of Valens, of the infraction of the ancient and solemn alliance, which had so long subsisted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged, that they had fulfilled the duty of allies, by assisting the kinman and successor of the emperor Julian; they required the immediate restitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very singular claim, that the Gothic generals, marching in arms, and in hostile array, were entitled to the sacred character and privileges of ambassadors. The decent, but peremptory, refusal of these extravagant demands, was signified to the barbarians by Victor, master-general of the cavalry; who expressed, with force and dignity, the just complaints of the emperor of the East.* The negotiation was interrupted: and the manly exhortations of Valentinian encouraged his thrid brother to vindicate the insulted majesty of the empire.†

Herodorus
and Justin,
N. D. 207.
506, 507.

The splendour and magnitude of this Gothic war were celebrated by a contemporary histo-

* The treaty and subsequent negotiation, are described in the Fragment of Eusebius, (Euseb. Epist. p. 16, 160.) See also Theophrastus, *de sensu animalium*, lib. 10. cap. 1. Theophrastus says, *the Goths, being united with the Romans, found that their strength was more apparent than real. They were rich of slaves; but themselves were slaves, and their discipline more strict.*

† Valens, when, in various passages, he is seen repulsed, seems to have been in Gothic attire, and perhaps armed. Ammianus (XXII.) is then generally to describe, not the country of the Goths, but the powerful and obstinate presence of Themas, which was not affected by the war.

slant; but the events scarcely deserved the attention of posterity, except as the preliminary steps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Instead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the banks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Constantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths resigned to the brave Athanaric the danger and glory of a defensive war, against an enemy, who wielded with a fertile hand the powers of a mighty state. A bridge of boats was established upon the Danube; the presence of Valens animated his troops; and his ignorance of the art of war was compensated by personal bravery, and a wise deference to the advice of Victor and Arinthius, his masters-general of the cavalry and infantry. The operations of the campaign were conducted by their skill and experience; but they found it impossible to drive the Visigoths from their strong posts in the mountains: and the devastation of the plains obliged the Romans themselves to retire the Danube on the approach of winter. The incessant rains, which swelled the waters of the river, produced a tacit suspension of arms, and confined the emperor Valens, during the whole course of the ensuing summer, to his camp at Marcianopolis. The third year of the war was more favourable to the Romans, and more pernicious to the Goths. The interruption of trade deprived

* *Historia, or Extracts, &c.* p. 10, 11. The Goths ought not to have considered as one and the same war, the whole series of attacks lasting till the conquest and death of Theodoric.

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XXX. they already confounded with the necessities of
life; and the desolation of a very extensive tract
of country threatened them with the horrors of
famine. Athamarc was provoked, or compelled,
to risk a battle, which he lost in the plains;
and the pursuit was rendered more bloody by the
avid precaution of the victorious generals, who
had promised a large reward for the head of every
Goth that was brought into the imperial camp.
The submission of the barbarians appressed the
resentment of Valens and his council; the em-
peror listened with satisfaction to the flattering
and eloquent remonstrance of the senate of Con-
stantinople, which assumed, for the first time, a
share in the public deliberations; and the same
generals, Victor and Arintheus, who had suc-
cessfully directed the conduct of the war, were
empowered to regulate the conditions of peace.
The freedom of trade, which the Goths had hitherto
enjoyed, was restricted to two cities on the
Danube; the rashness of their leaders was severely
punished by the suppression of their pensions and
salaries; and the exception, which was stipulated
in favour of Athamarc alone, was more misan-
thropic than honourable to the judges of the
Visigoths. Athamarc, who, on this occasion,
appears to have consulted his private interest,
without expecting the orders of his sovereign,
supported his own dignity, and that of his tribe,
in the personal interview which was proposed by
the ministers of Valens. He persisted in his de-
claration, that it was impossible for him, without

incurring the guilt of perjury, ever to set his foot on the territory of the empire: and it is more than probable, that his regard for the sanctity of his oath was confirmed by the recent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. The Danube, which separated the dominions of the two independent nations, was chosen for the scene of the conference. The emperor of the East, and the judge of the Visigoths, accompanied by an equal number of armed followers, advanced in their respective barges in the middle of the stream. After the ratification of the treaty, and the delivery of hostages, Valens returned in triumph to Constantinople: and the Goths remained in a state of tranquillity about six years: till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire, by an innumeral host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the North.¹

The emperor of the West, who had resigned to his brother the command of the Lower Danube, reserved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhætan and Rhytian provinces, which spread so many hundred miles along the greatest of the European rivers. The active policy of Valentinian was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the security of the frontier:

War in
the Quasi
and 421.
Maximian,
A. D. 374.

¹ The Gothic war is described by Ammianus, (transl. G.) *Res. Hist.* l. iv. p. 111-115, and Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* p. 125-131. The name Theodoret, was first found the name of Constantine's coadjutor, the Christian emperor, and his ally the great emperor Valens in the Quasi, in Ammianus's History. Theodoret's name is also found in the Quasi, and is given to the Gothic nation, (Hieron's Hist. of the Germans, l. vi. 7.)

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but the abuse of this policy provoked the just resentment of the barbarians. The Quadi complained, that the ground for an intended fortress had been marked out on their territories: and their complaints were urged with so much reason and moderation, that Equitius, master-general of Illyria, consented to suspend the prosecution of the work, till he should be more clearly informed of the will of his sovereign. This fair occasion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his son, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maximian, the perfect, or rather tyrant, of Gaul. The passions of Valentinian were impatient of controul: and he credulously listened to the assurances of his favourite, that if the government of Valeria, and the direction of the work, were intrusted to the zeal of his son Marcellinus, the emperor should no longer be importuned with the audacious remonstrances of the barbarians. The subjects of Rome, and the natives of Germany, were insulted by the arrogance of a young and worthless minister, who considered his rapid elevation as the proof and reward of his superior merit. He affected, however, to receive the modest application of Galbicus, king of the Quadi, with some attention and regard: but this artificial civility concealed a dark and bloody design, and the credulous prince was persuaded to accept the pressing invitation of Marcellinus. I am at a loss how to vary the narrative of similar crimes: or how to relate, that in the course of the same year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhospitable table

of two imperial generals was stained with the royal blood of two goths and allies inhumanly murdered by their order, and in their presence. The fate of *Gabinus*, and of *Paris*, was the same; but the cruel death of their sovereign was resented in a very different manner by the savage temper of the *Armenians*, and the free and daring spirit of the *Germans*. The *Quadi* were much exalted from that formidable power, which, in the time of *Marcus Antoninus*, had spread terror to the gates of *Rome*. But they still possessed arms and courage; their courage was animated by despair, and they obtained the usual reinforcement of the cavalry of their *Sarmatian* allies. So imprudent was the emperor *Marcellinus*, that he chose the moment when the bravest veterans had been drawn away, to suppress the revolt of *Flavius*; and the whole province was exposed, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exasperated barbarians. They invaded *Pannonia* in the season of harvest; unmercifully destroyed every object of plunder which they could not easily transport; and either disregarded, or demolished, the empty fortifications. The princess *Constantia*, the daughter of the emperor *Constantine*, and the grand-daughter of the great *Constantine*, very narrowly escaped. That royal maid, who had innocently supported the revolt of *Procopius*, was now the destined wife of the heir of the Western empire. She traversed the powerful province with a splendid and unarm'd train. Her person was saved from

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.....

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danger, and the republic from disgrace, by the active zeal of Messala, governor of the province: As soon as he was informed that the village, where she stopped only to dine, was almost encompassed by the barbarians, he hastily placed her in his own chariot, and drove full speed till he reached the gates of Sirmium, which were at the distance of six and twenty miles. Even Sirmium might not have been secure, if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general consternation of the magistrates and people. Their delay allowed Probus, the pretorian prefect, sufficient time to recover his own spirits, and to revive the courage of the citizens. He skillfully directed their strenuous efforts to repair and strengthen the decayed fortifications; and procured the reasonable and effectual assistance of a company of archers, to protect the capital of the Illyrian provinces. Disappointed in their attempts against the walls of Sirmium, the indignant barbarians turned their arms against the master-general of the frontier, to whom they unjustly attributed the murder of their king. Equities could bring into the field no more than two legions; but they contained the veteran strength of the Macedon and Pannonian hosts. The obstinacy with which they disputed the vain honours of rank and precedence, was the cause of their destruction; and while they acted with separate forces and divided councils, they were surprised and slaughtered by the active vigour of the Sarmatian horse. The success of this inva-

and provoked the emulation of the bordering tribes: and the province of Media would infallibly have been lost, if young Theodosius, the duke, or military commander of the frontier, had not signalized, in the defeat of the public enemy, an intrepid genius, worthy of his illustrious father, and of his future greatness.*

The mind of Valentinian, who then resided at Treves, was deeply affected by the calamities of Illyricum: but the lateness of the season suspended the execution of his designs till the ensuing spring. He marched in person, with a considerable part of the forces of Gaul, from the banks of the Moselle: and to the suppliant ambassadors of the Sarmatians, who met him on the way, he returned a doubtful answer, that as soon as he reached the scene of action, he should examine, and pronounce. When he arrived at Sirmium, he gave audience to the deputies of the Illyrian provinces: who loudly congratulated their own fidelity under the auspicious government of Probus, his pretorian prefect. Va-

* *Ammonius*, *lib. vi.* and *Julianus*, *de vit.* p. 118, 119, carefully state the origin and progress of the Quadi and Sarmatian war.

* *Ammonius*, *lib. vi.* who acknowledges the merit, but does not, with becoming dignity, the oppressive characterisation of Emperor Probus. When Jerome translated, and abridged, the *History of Eusebius*, *lib. ix.* 284, see *Millman*, *Deus*, *Index*, vol. ii. p. 216; he expressed the truth, or at least the public opinion, of his country, in the following words:—"Probus P. R. Imperatoris suspensum in hunc tractatum, non potuit quidem pergit, quam a barbaris nationibus, accepit." (*Index*, vol. ii. *Index*, p. 187; *Ammonius*, p. 118.) The same afterwards formed an intimate and tender friendship with the wife of Probus; and

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lenthinus, who was flattered by these demonstrations of their loyalty and gratitude, imprudently asked the deputy of Epirus, a Cynic philosopher of intrepid sincerity,* whether he was freely sent by the wishes of the province? "With arms and grons am I sent (replied Iphicles) " by a selectant people." The emperor paused; but the impunity of his ministers established the pernicious maxim, that they might oppress his subjects, without injuring his service. A strict inquiry into their conduct would have relieved the public discontent. The severe condemnation of the murder of Gabinius, was the only measure which could restore the confidence of the Germans, and vindicate the honour of the Roman name. But the haughty monarch was incapable of the magnanimity which dares to acknowledge a fault. He forgot the provocation, remembered only the injury, and advanced into the country of the Quadi with an insatiate thirst of blood and revenge. The extreme devastation, and promiscuous massacre, of a savage war, were justified, in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in those of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation:† and such was the discipline of

the sense of Civil Equality, with less property, but without much inferiority, has been introduced in the East.

* Julian (Euseb. vi. p. 109) represents his friend Iphicles as a sort of Zenon and Zeno, who had made himself excellent and happy, by adopting the strongest dress and manners of the Greeks.

† Ammian. xvi. c. 10. Julian, who suggested the massacre of Valentinian, refused him and his last consolation of orange. *Quibus tantis ille, et ceteris pariter delectationibus, quæ s.* p. 105.

the Romans, and the extermination of the enemy, that Valentinian repassed the Danube without the loss of a single man. As he had resolved to complete the destruction of the Quadi by a second campaign, he fixed his winter-quarters at Brigetio, on the Danube, near the Hungarian city of Presburgh. While the operations of war were suspended by the severity of the weather, the Quadi made an humble attempt to deprecate the wrath of their conqueror; and, at the earnest persuasion of Equitius, their ambassadors were introduced into the imperial council. They approached the throne with bended bodies, and dejected countenances; and, without daring to complain of the murder of their king, they affirmed, with solemn oaths, that the late invasion was the crime of some irregular robbers, which the public council of the nation condemned and adjuured. The answer of the emperor left them but little to hope from his clemency or compassion. He reviled, in the most intemperate language, their baseness, their ingratitude, their insolence. His eyes, his voice, his colour, his gestures, expressed the violence of his ungoverned fury; and, while his whole frame was agitated with convulsive passion, a large blood-vessel suddenly burst in his body; and Valentinian fell speechless into the arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his situation from the crowd: but, in a few minutes, the emperor of the West expired in an agony of pain, retaining his senses till the last; and struggling,

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.....

and death
of Valen-
tine.

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A. D. 373.
Nov. 14.

without success, to declare his intentions to the generals and ministers, who surrounded the royal couch. Valentinian was about fifty-four years of age; and he wanted only one hundred days to accomplish the twelve years of his reign.³

The em-
perors
Gallus
and Valen-
tine II.

The polygamy of Valentinian is seriously at-
tested by an ecclesiastical historian.* The
empress Severa (I relate the fable) admitted
into her familiar society the lovely Justina,
the daughter of an Italian governor; her ad-
miration of those naked charms, which she
had often seen in the bath, was expressed with
such lavish and imprudent praise, that the
emperor was tempted to introduce a second
wife into his bed; and his public edict ex-
tended to all the subjects of the empire, the
same domestic privilege, which he had assumed
for himself. But we may be assured, from
the evidence of reason, as well as history, that the
two marriages of Valentinian, with Severa, and
with Justina, were successively contracted; and
that he used the ancient permission of divorce,
which was still allowed by the laws, though it

³ See, on the death of Valentinian, Ammianus, lxxx. 6, 2. *Facile est, &c.*, p. 477. Vossius, *de Romanis Imperatoribus*, l. 16, p. 311, and *de Antiq. the. Grecis*, p. 187, and note 4, p. 78, at Basilienae. There is much rivalry of expression among these; and Ammianus is so eloquent, that he writes *amplius*.

⁴ *Memorie de St. E.* c. 310 is the only original witness of this fact; and it is supported by the laws and accounts of the Romans. But it strongly shows the formal and dangerous character of St. Eusebius, (*Mem. de l'Académie*, tom. xxi. p. 294-302). Yet I would preserve the usual interpretation of the Latin term of *divortium*, which represents Justina as an old woman, the rival of Magnentia.

was condemned by the church. Severus was the author of Gratian, who seemed to unite every claim which could entitle him to the undoubted succession of the Western empire. He was the eldest son of a monarch, whose glorious reign had confirmed the free and honourable choice of his fellow-soldiers. Before he had attained the twentieth year of his age, the royal youth received from the hands of his indulgent father the purple robe and diadem, with the title of Augustus: the election was solemnly ratified by the consent and applause of the armies of Gaul: and the name of Gratian was added to the names of Valentinian and Valens in all the legal transactions of the Roman government. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of Constantine, the son of Valentinian acquired all the hereditary rights of the Flavian family: which, in a series of three imperial generations, were sanctified by time, religion, and the reverence of the people. At the death of his father, the royal youth was in the seventeenth year of his age: and his virtues already justified the favourable opinion of the army and people. But Gratian resided, without apprehension, in the palace of Treves: whilst, at the distance of many hundred miles, Valentinian suddenly expired in the camp of Illegotio. The passions, which had been so long suppressed by the presence of a master, immediately revived in the imperial council: and the ambitious design

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OF THE REIGN OF VAL-
ENTINIAN.

* *Historia* (xxxv.). It describes the death of this military officer, and his last moments. Valentinian does not appear to have received, at even distant, the notice of Rome.

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of reigning in the arms of an infant, was artfully executed by Melchisedes and Euphrasius, who communicated the attachment of the Illyrian and Italian bands. They contrived the most honourable pretences to remove the popular leaders, and the troops of Gaul, who might have asserted the claims of the lawful successor: they suggested the necessity of extinguishing the hopes of foreign and domestic enemies, by a bold and decisive measure. The empress Justina, who had been left in a palace about one hundred miles from Dregetha, was respectfully invited to appear in the camp, with the son of the deposed emperor. On the sixth day after the death of Valentinian, the infant prince of the same name, who was only four years old, was shown in the arms of his mother, to the legions; and solemnly invested, by military acclamation, with the titles and ensigns of supreme power. The impending dangers of a civil war were reasonably prevented by the wise and moderate conduct of the emperor Gratian. He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army; declared, that he should always consider the son of Justina as a brother, not as a rival; and advised the empress, with her son Valentinian, to fix their residence at Milan, in the fair and peaceful province of Italy; while he assumed the more arduous command of the countries beyond the Alps. Gratian dissimulated his resentment till he could safely punish or disgrace the authors of the conspiracy; and though he uniformly behaved with tenderness and regard to his infant colleague, he gradually confounded,

in the administration of the Western empire, the office of a guardian with the authority of a sovereign. The government of the Roman world was exercised in the united names of Valens and his two nephews; but the feeble emperor of the East, who succeeded to the rank of his elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the West.*

* Ammianus, *xxx.* 16; Zosimus, *l. iii.* p. 395, 396. Titianus has joined; *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 567-586, that Gratian reigned in Italy, Africa, and Illyria. I have endeavored to express his authority over his brother's dominions, as he used by, in an ambiguous style.

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Manners of the pastoral nations—Progress of the Huns, (from China to Persia)—Flight of the Goths—They join the Huns—Gothic war—Defeat and death of Valens—Goths invade Thrace with the Eastern empire—His character and interests—Peace and influence of the Goths.

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Earth-
quake,
A. D. 358,
July 21.

IN the second year of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on the morning of the twenty-first day of July, the greatest part of the Roman world was shaken by a violent and destructive earthquake. The impression was communicated to the waters; the shores of the Mediterranean were left dry, by the sudden retreat of the sea; great quantities of fish were caught with the hand; large vessels were stranded on the mud, and a curious spectator* amused his eye, or rather his fancy, by contemplating the various appearance of valleys and mountains, which had never, since the formation of the globe, been exposed to the sun. But the tide soon returned, with the weight of an immense and irresistible deluge, which was severely felt on the coasts of Sicily, of Dalmatia, of Greece, and of Egypt: large boats were transported, and lodged on the roofs of houses, or

* Such is the bad sense of *Amusement*, (Cicero, 11th. Edit. 1671. 1672.) that it is not rare to find *Amusement* has been taken for *Amusement*. Yet he positively asserts, that he saw the certain entrance of a ship, and several figures, at the mouth of the Nile, at Pelusium.

at the distance of two miles from the shore: the people, with their habitations, were swept away by the waters; and the city of Alexandria annually commemorated the fatal day, on which fifty thousand persons had lost their lives in the inundation. This calamity, the report of which was magnified from one province to another, astonished and terrified the subjects of Rome: and their affrighted imagination enlarged the real extent of a momentary evil. They recollected the preceding earthquakes, which had subverted the cities of Palestine and Bithynia: they considered these alarming strokes as the prelude only of still more dreadful calamities, and their fearful vanity was disposed to confoimd the symptoms of a declining empire, and a sinking world.* It was the fashion of the times, to attribute every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity: the alterations of nature were connected, by an invisible chain, with the moral and metaphysical opinions of the human mind: and the most sagacious divines could distinguish, according to the colour of their respective prejudices, that the establishment of heresy tended to produce an earthquake: or that a deluge was

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* The earthquakes and inundations are vividly described by Eusebius, (*Orat. de Clementis Episcopi* secus 4. c. in *Palestine*, *Roth. Rom.* tom. vii. p. 128, with a learned note of Gualtero: *Lucianus*, li. ii. p. 372; *Strabon*, li. vi. p. 71; *Cassiodorus*, pp. 310, 314; and *Isidorus*, (*in Chron.* p. 185, and tom. i. p. 133, in *Vit. Illustres*). *Epiphanius* must have been overwhelmed, had not the prodigious misery pleased St. Basilides, an Egyptian monk, on the south. He made the sign of the cross: the mountains were stopped, heaved, and restored.

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the inevitable consequence of the progress of sin and error. Without presuming to discuss the truth or propriety of these lofty speculations, the historian may content himself with an observation, which seems to be justified by experience, that man has much more to fear from the passions of his fellow-creatures, than from the convulsions of the elements.* The mischievous effects of an earthquake, or deluge, a hurricane, or the eruption of a volcano, bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war: as they are now moderated by the prudence or humanity of the princes of Europe, who amuse their own leisure, and exercise the courage of their subjects, in the practice of the military art. But the laws and manners of modern nations protect the safety and freedom of the vanquished soldier; and the peaceful citizen has seldom reason to complain, that his life, or even his fortune, is exposed to the rage of war. In the disastrous period of the fall of the Roman empire, which may justly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happiness and security of each individual were personally attacked; and the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced by the barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invasion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the West the Gothic nation, which advanced, in less than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the success of their arms,

The Huns and Goths,
A. D. 376.

* *Discussions, the Privileges, composed a bound volume, to preserve some private truth; which is not the most favourable to the Roman species. (Hume, de Officiis, &c. &c.)*

to the threads of so many hostile tribes, more savage than themselves. The original principle of motion was concealed in the remote countries of the North; and the curious observation of the pastoral life of the Scythians,^a or Tartars,^b will illustrate the latent cause of these destructive emigrations.

The different characters that mark the civilized nations of the globe, may be ascribed to the use, and the abuse, of reason; which so variously shapes, and so artificially composes, the manners and opinions of an European, or a Chinese. But the operation of instinct is more sure and simple than that of reason: it is much easier to ascertain the appetites of a quadruped, than the speculations of a philosopher; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other. The uniform stability of their manners is the natural consequence of the imperfection of their faculties. Reduced to a similar situation, they

The pastoral man-
ners of the
Scythians,
or Tartars.

^a The original Scythians of Herodotus (*l. iv. c. 42-47, 49-50*) were subdued by the Danube and the Palus, Hæmus, within a square of 1000 miles, 1100 Roman miles. See D'Anville, *Mém. de l'Asie-Mineure*, tom. 22^{ve}, p. 322-325. Diodorus locates them by *l. iv. p. 144, 145*. Woodings has marked the gradual progress of the same and others.

^b The Tatars, or Tartars, were a primitive tribe, the rivals, and at length the masters, of the Mongols. In the victorious armies of Genghis Khan, and his successors, the Tartars drove the Europeans and the Mongols, which they reached the west of Persia, and applied to the whole name. (See D'Anville, *Mém. de l'Asie-Mineure*, tom. 22^{ve}, p. 60.) In speaking of all, or any, of the northern steppe-lands of Europe or Asia, Herodotus uses the appellation of Scythians, or Tatars.

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SCYTHIANS.

wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still continue the same: and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved state of society, is suspended, or subdued, by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form, and to maintain, the national character of barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age, the Scythians, and Tartars, have been renowned for their invincible courage, and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the North: and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe.¹ On this occasion, as well as on many others, the sober historian is furiously awakened from a pleasing vision: and is compelled, with some reluctance, to confess, that the pastoral manners, which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illustrate this observation, I shall now proceed to consider a nation of shepherds and of warriors.

¹ Impetum Asiae tota quærens, sed perperam, æque impetum, impetum, et impetum, impetum. Quod the name of Scythia, &c. In they have mutilated this account. Voltaire, in a few words, than p. 64, Hist. Générale, v. 286, has described the Tartar conquests.

On a day the travelling nations from Asia,

That Scythian host! the living cloud of war.

in the three important articles of, I. Their diet; CHAP.
II. Their habitations; and, III. Their exercises. XXVI.
The narratives of antiquity are justified by the
experience of modern times;* and the banks of
the Borystheneſes, of the Volga, or of the Sellaga,
will indifferently preſent the ſame uniform ſpec-
tacle of ſimilar and native manners.

I. The corn, or even the rice, which conſti-
tutes the ordinary and wholeſome food of a civil-
ized people, can be obtained only by the patient
toil of the huſbandman. Some of the happy
ſavages, who dwell between the tropics, are
plentifully nourished by the liberality of nature;
but in the climates of the North, a nation of
ſhepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds.
The ſkilful practitioners of the medical art will
determine (if they are able to determine) how
far the temper of the human mind may be affected
by the uſe of animal, or of vegetable, food; and
whether the common aſſociation of carnivorous
and cruel, deſerves to be conſidered in any

* The fourth book of *Herodotus* affords a curious though imper-
fect, picture of the Scythians. Among the moderns, who examine
the different ſtates, the King of Romeſſians, *Alphonſe Benard*, ex-
poſes the native feelings; and his *Geometrical History of the To-
tens* has been abſolutely tranſlated by the French and English editors
Carpin, *Amelin*, and *Barthelemy*, for the *Hiſt. des Voyages*, ſome will
repreſent the *Hopſes* of the nomadic nations. To theſe guides I
have added *Bartillon*, and the other journey, (*Deſcription de la Chine*,
par du Halles, tom. vi.) who accurately purſued the Chinese *Tartary*;
and that ſame and diſtinguiſhed traveller, *Wall. de Amoyne*, (two
volumes in 8vo, Glasgow, 1768.)

* The *Uſages* are the more altered than their primitive manners;
A. by the preſence of the Mohammedan religion; and, T. by the pre-
ſence of the cities and herds of the great Tartaria.

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other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salutary, prejudice of humanity.* Yet if it be true, that the sentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cruelty, we may observe that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their naked and most disgusting simplicity, in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox, or the sheep, are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food: and the bleeding limbs are served with very little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profession, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most solid advantages. Corn is a bulky and perishable commodity: and the large magazines, which are indispensably necessary for the subsistence of our troops, must be slowly transported by the labour of men, or horses. But the flocks and herds, which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a sure and increasing supply of flesh and milk: in the far greater part of the uncultivated waste, the vegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places

* It is curious that the greatest advantage to which man has attained, is derived from the least of his powers, his passions. This observation on the mind has been, or at least has been, by Sir Isaac Newton not only made, but illustrated. *Newton's Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, lib. 1, p. 174. Whenever we may think of the general observation, we shall not easily allow the truth of his remark. The good-conduct of Plutarch, and the pathetic lamentation of Ovid, excite our system, by exciting our sensibility.

so extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the North cannot find some tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged, by the undistinguishing appetite, and patient abstinence, of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the flesh of those animals that have been killed for the table, or have died of disease. Horse-flesh, which in every age and country has been proscribed by the civilized nations of Europe and Asia, they devour with peculiar greediness; and this singular taste facilitates the success of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their most distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of spare horses, who may be occasionally used, either to redouble the speed, or to satisfy the hunger, of the barbarians. Many are the resources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almost consumed, they slaughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve the flesh, either smoked, or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hasty march, they provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheese, or rather of hard curd, which they occasionally dissolve in water; and this unsubstantial diet will support, for many days, the life, and even the spirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abstinence, which the stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly succeeded by the most voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the most grateful present,

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Of the Tartars.

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or the most valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their industry seems to consist in the art of extracting from mare's milk a fermented liquor, which possesses a very strong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the savages, both of the old and new world, experience the alternate vicissitudes of famine and plenty; and their stomach is inured to sustain, without much inconvenience, the opposite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

Habitat-
tion.

II. In the ages of rustic and martial simplicity, a people of soldiers and husbandmen are dispersed over the face of an extensive and cultivated country; and some time must elapse before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be assembled under the same standard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the territories of the adjacent tribes. The progress of manufactures and commerce insensibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city: but these citizens are no longer soldiers; and the arts which adorn and improve the state of civil society, corrupt the habits of the military life. The pastoral dwellers of the Scythians seem to unite the different advantages of simplicity and refinement. The individuals of the same tribe are constantly assembled, but they are assembled in a camp; and the native spirit of these dauntless shepherds is animated by mutual support and emulation. The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and

dirty habitation, for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent pastures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The necessity of preventing the most mischievous confusion, in such a perpetual concourse of men and animals, must gradually introduce, in the distribution, the order, and the guard, of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As soon as the forage of a certain district is consumed, the tribe, or rather army, of shepherds, makes a regular march to some fresh pastures: and thus acquires, in the ordinary occupations of the pastoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the most important and difficult operations of war. The choice of stations is regulated by the difference of the seasons: in the summer, the Tartars advance towards the North, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at least, in the neighbourhood of a running stream. But in the winter they return to the South, and shelter their camp behind some convenient eminence, against the winds, which are chilled in their passage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. These manners are admirably adapted to diffuse, among the wandering tribes, the spirit of emigration and conquest. The connection between the people and their territory is of so frail a texture, that it

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may be broken by the slightest accident. The camp, and not the soil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. Within the precincts of their camp, his family, his companions, his property, are always included; and in the most distant marches, he is still surrounded by the objects which are dear, or valuable, or familiar in his eyes. The thirst of rapine, the fear, or the resentment of injury, the impatience of servitude, have, in every age, been sufficient causes to urge the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into some unknown countries, where they might hope to find a more plentiful subsistence, or a less formidable enemy. The revolutions of the North have frequently determined the fate of the South; and in the conflict of hostile nations, the victor and the vanquished have alternately drove, and been driven, from the confines of China to those of Germany.* These great emigrations, which have been sometimes executed with almost incredible diligence, were rendered more easy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known, that the cold of Tartary is much more severe than in the midst of the temperate zone might reasonably be expected: this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which rise, especially towards the East, more than half a mile above the level of the sea; and to the quantity of saltpetre, with which the soil is deeply

* These Tartar migrations have been discovered by M. de Seignen, (Wagener des Bruns, &c.) who is by a slight and judicious interpretation of the Chinese language, what the same full-spoken and argument words in the history of mankind.

impregnated¹. In the winter season, the broad and rapid rivers, that discharge their waters into the Rhine, the Caspian, or the icy Sea, are strongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of snow; and the fugitive, or victorious, tribes may securely traverse, with their families, their waggons, and their cattle, the smooth and hard surface of an immense plain.

III. The pastoral life, compared with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleness; and as the most honourable shepherds of the Tartar race devolve on their captives the domestic management of the cattle, their own leisure is seldom disturbed by any scruple and anxious care. But this leisure, instead of being devoted to the soft enjoyments of love and harmony, is usefully spent in the violent and sanguinary exercise of the chase. The plains of Tartary are filled with a strong and serviceable breed of horses, which are early trained for the purposes of war and hunting. The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and skilled riders; and constant practice had seated them so firmly on horseback, that they were supposed by strangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to eat, to drink, and even to sleep, without dismounting from their

¹ A piece of the Chinese Tartary, only eighty leagues from the great wall, was found by the missionaries to be three Chinese geographical miles above the level of the sea. Manchoukoo, who like such, and almost, the relations of travellers, declare the remoteness of Ait from this supposition unreasonable, that heat and cold, weak and strength, touch each other without any remarkable interval (Duperrey Lett. t. 2. p. 12. 2. 3.)

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stords. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance: the long Tartar bow is drawn, with a nervous arm; and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim, and irresistible force. These arrows are often pointed against the harmless animals of the desert, which increase and multiply in the absence of their most formidable enemy: the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the stag, the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience both of the men and horses are continually exercised by the fatigues of the chase; and the plentiful supply of game contributes to the subsistence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the destruction of timid or innoxious beasts: they boldly encounter the angry wild-beast, when he turns against his pursuers, excite the sluggish courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tiger, as he slumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger, there may be glory: and the mode of hunting, which opens the fairest field to the exertions of valour, may justly be considered as the image, and as the school, of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compose an instructive exercise for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompass the game of an extensive district: and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre: where the captive animals, surrounded on every

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side, are abandoned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to swim the rivers, and to wind through the valleys, without interrupting the prescribed order of their gradual progress. They acquire the habit of directing their eye, and their steps, to a remote object; of preserving their intervals; of suspending, or accelerating, their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the signals of their leaders. Their leaders study, in this practical school, the most important lesson of the military art: the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of distance, and of time. To employ against a human enemy the same patience and valour, the same skill and discipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the movements of the chase serve us a prelude to the conquest of an empire.*

The political society of the ancient Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, distinguished by the modern appellation of *Hardi*, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family; which, in the course of successive gener-

* *Post de la Croix* (*Nouveau Voyage*) t. II, p. 5, represents the full glory and action of the Mogul chase. The female translation and Vachon followed the emperor Kianli when he hunted in Tartary. (*De la Croix, Description de la Chine*, tom. IV, p. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

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 nations, have been propagated from the same original stock. The meanest, and most ignorant, of the Tartars, preserve, with anxious pride, the inestimable treasure of their genealogy; and whatever distinctions of rank may have been introduced, by the unequal distribution of pastoral wealth, they mutually respect themselves, and each other, as the descendants of the first founder of the tribe. The custom, which still prevails, of adopting the bravest and most faithful of the captives, may countenance the very probable suspicion, that this extensive consanguinity is, in a great measure, legal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice, which has obtained the sanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth: the haughty barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood; and their chief, or *kurai*, as the representative of their great father, exercises the authority of a judge, in peace, and of a leader, in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the *kurais* (if we may continue to use a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family; and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed, by superior force, or mutual consent. But the constant operation of various and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant Hordes into national communities, under the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the result of union, oppressed and collected the divided forces of the

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adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to share the advantages of victory, the most valiant chiefs hastened to range themselves, and their followers, under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority, either of merit, or of power. He was raised to the throne by the acclamations of his equals; and the title of *Khan* expresses, in the language of the North of Asia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the Khans, who reign from Crimen to the wall of China, are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis.* But, as it is the indispensable duty of a Tartar sovereign to lead his warlike subjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often disregarded; and some royal kinsman, distinguished by his age and valour, is intrusted with the sword and sceptre of his predecessor. Two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to support the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief; and each of these contributions amounts

* See the second volume of the *Geographical History of the Tartars*, and the list of the Khans, at the end of the first of Zingis's *Origins*. Under the reign of Temu, or Taimourlan, one of his sons, Jem, a descendant of Zingis, still bore the regal appellation of Khan; and the conquests of Asia succeeded jointly with the title of Khan or Sultan. *Abulghazi*, part. v. c. 4. *Ullrichsfeld*, *Erstbeschreibung Ostasien*, p. 376.

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in the tythes, both of their property, and of their spoil. A Tartar sovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people: and as his own domestic riches of flocks and herds increase in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the rustic splendour of his court, to reward the most deserving, or the most favoured, of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be sometimes refused to the stern mandates of authority. The manners of his subjects, accustomed, like himself, to blood and rapine, might excuse, in their eyes, such partial acts of tyranny; as would excite the horror of a civilized people; but the power of a despot has never been acknowledged in the deserts of Scythia. The immediate jurisdiction of the Khan is confined within the limits of his own tribes; and the exercise of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient institution of a national council. The *Caroulta*,* or Diet, of the Tartars, was regularly held in the spring and autumn, in the midst of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family, and the nurses of the respective tribes, may conveniently assemble on horseback, with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch, who reviewed the strength, must consult the inclination, of an armed people. The

* See the History of the ancient Persians, (in Gough's Ann. II. p. 265, and a very good translation by those of Zoroaster, (Vie de Gengis Khan, &c.), of BÉLÉGE, &c. 118.) From whence we frequently borrowed for the Persian history of Timur; though they served only to diminish the magnitude of their empire.

rudiments of a feudal government may be discovered in the constitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of these hostile nations has sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependant kings, has spread his conquest over Europe or Asia; the successful shepherds of the North have submitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after destroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne.^b

The memory of past events cannot long be preserved, in the frequent and remote migrations of illiterate barbarians. The modern Tartars are ignorant of the conquests of their ancestors; and our knowledge of the history of the Scythians is derived from their intercourse with the learned and civilized nations of the South, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Chinese. The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine, and planted their colonies along the sea-coast, made the gradual and imperfect discovery of Scythia; from the Danube, and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Mexico, the seat of

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Scythians
and others
of Scythia,
or Tartary.

^a Herodotus (lib. i.) to explain a difference, which he has not traced, between the story of the Achaemenides, and the original discovery of the Tartars. (Esprit des Loix, l. viii. c. 4. c. viii. c. 13. 182.)

^b Strabo (lib. vi.) in his two last parts of his Geography History, relates the successive falls and migrations of the Great Tartars concerning the time which precedes the reign of Cyrus.

eternal winter, and Mount Caucasus, which, in the language of poetry, was described as the utmost boundary of the earth. They celebrated, with simple credulity, the virtues of the pastoral life;^a they entertained a more rational apprehension of the strength and numbers of the warlike barbarians,^b who contemptuously baffled the immense armament of Darius, the son of Hytaspas;^c The Persian monarchs had extended their western conquests to the banks of the Danube, and the limits of European Scythia. The eastern provinces of their empire were exposed to the Scythians of Asia; the wild inhabitants of the plains beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes, two mighty rivers, which direct their course towards the Caspian Sea. The long and memorable quarrel of Iran and Tauran is still the theme of history or romance: the famous, perhaps the fabulous, valour of the Persian heroes, Rustan and Asferidat, was signalized, in the defence of their country against the Afrasiabs of the North;^d and the invincible spirit of the same

^a In the thirteenth book of the *Iliad*, Jupiter turns away his eye from the bloody fields of Troy, to the plains of Thracia and Scythia. He would not, by changing the prospect, behold warriors perished or imminent arms.

^b *Thucydides*, l. ii. c. 95.

^c See the fourth book of *Herodotus*. When Darius advanced into the Median desert, between the Danube and the Nile, the King of the Scythians sent him a mouse, a frog, a hawk, and his bow; a tremendous allegory.

^d These wars and heroes may be found under their respective titles, in the *Barbarian Dictionary* of *Is Herodotus*. They have been referred to in our poem of story thousand rhymed couplets, by *Frederick the Hammer of Persia*. See the *History of Malice News*, p. 186, 187. The public must suspect, that Mr. Jones has composed the parable of oriental learning.

barbarians resisted, on the same ground, the victorious arms of Cyrus and Alexander.² In the eyes of the Greeks and Persians, the real geography of Scythia was bounded, on the East, by the mountains of Imaus, or Caf; and their distant prospect of the extreme and inaccessible parts of Asia was clouded by ignorance, or perplexed by fiction. But those inaccessible regions are the ancient residence of a powerful and civilized nation,³ which ascends, by a probable tradition, above forty centuries;⁴ and which is able to verify a series of near two thousand years, by the perpetual testimony of accurate and contempo-

² The Egyptian text, with its errors, and adjacent Greek, are tolerably illustrated in the *Recherches Critiques des Histoires d'Alexandre*, which compares the true geography, and the errors produced by the southern ignorance of the Greeks.

³ The original seat of the nation appears to have been in the south-west of China, in the province of Chensi and Chensi. Under the two first dynasties, the principal towns were still a miserable camp; the villages were thinly scattered; more land was employed in pasture than in tillage; the custom of hunting was retained to clear the country from wild beasts; Freedom where Pechei stands was a desert; and the southern provinces were peopled with Indian savages. The dynasty of the Hien Yehsien Christ 2661 gave this empire its actual form and extent.

⁴ The era of the Chinese monarchy has been variously fixed, from 2202 to 2182 years before Christ; and the year 2211 has been chosen for the lentil epoch, by the authority of the present emperor. The difference arises from the uncertain duration of the two first dynasties; and the vacuum space that lies beyond them, as far as the real, or fabulous, times of Pehl, or Hwangti. Paganini dated his authentic chronology from the year 841; the thirty-six reliques of Confucius others—one of which have been verified—were observed between the years 528 and 460 before Christ. The historical period of China does not extend above the sixth Olympiad.

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rary historians.* The annals of China^b illustrate the state and revolutions of the pastoral tribes, which may still be distinguished by the vague appellation of Scythians, or Tartars; the vassals, the enemies, and sometimes the conquerors, of a great empire; whose policy has uniformly opposed the blind and impetuous valour of the barbarians of the North. From the mouth of the Danube to the sea of Japan, the whole longitude of Scythia is about one hundred and ten degrees, which, in that parallel, are equal to more than five thousand miles. The latitude of these extensive deserts cannot be so easily, or so accurately, measured; but, from the fortieth degree, which touches the wall of China, we may securely advance above a thou-

* After several ages of darkness and ignorance, the discovery of the Blue Islands (about 700) was the era of the revival of learning. The fragments of ancient literature were recovered; the sciences were improved and fixed; and the Chinese preservation of books and works, by the magic incantation, of ink, paper, and the art of printing, thirty-seven years before Christ, transmitted the distant memory of China. His labours were almost lost, and continued, by a hostile nation, hundred and eighty millions. The remains of these works is still existing; and the most considerable of them are now deposited in the king of France's library.

^b China has been described by the accounts of the Travellers, or the missionaries St. Francis and Martin Pizarro sent to August of Pape. The substance of the three preceding books is extracted from the *Chou-king*, with the addition and notes of St. de Guignes, Paris, 1776. The *Feng-Kien-Kong-Meng*, translated by the P. de Mailla, under the name of Hist. Generale de la Chine, tome 1, p. 310-311; the *Memoires sur la Chine*, Paris, 1776, 82, tome 1, p. 1-273; tome 2, p. 1-273; the *History of the House*, tome 1, p. 1-111; tome 2, p. 1-111; and the *Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences*, tome 1, p. 271-401; tome 2, p. 401-541; tome 3, p. 171-270; tome 4, p. 171-270.

and miles to the northward, till our progress is stopped by the excessive cold of Siberia. In that dreary climate, instead of the animated picture of a Tartar camp, the smoke which issues from the earth, or rather from the snow, betrays the subterraneous dwellings of the Tunguses, and the Samoides: the want of horses and oxen is imperfectly supplied by the use of rein-deer, and of large dogs; and the conquerors of the earth insensibly degenerate into a race of deformed and diminutive savages, who tremble at the sound of arms.*

The Huns, who under the reign of Valens threatened the empire of Rome, had been formidable, in a much earlier period, to the empire of China.[†] Their ancient, perhaps their original, seat, was an extensive, though dry and barren, tract of country, immediately on the north side of the great wall. Their place is at present occupied by the forty-nine Hords or Banuers of the Mangous, a pastoral nation, which consists of about two hundred thousand families.[‡] But the valour of the Huns had extended the narrow limits of their dominions; and their rustic chiefs, who assumed the appellation of *Tanjses*, gradually became the conquerors, and the sovereigns, of a

Original seat of the Huns.

Their ruins, quitted by the Huns.

* See the Histoire Générale des Voyages, tome viii. and the Geographical History, vol. ii. p. 682, 683.

† M. de Guignes (tome ii. p. 1, 118) has given the original history of the ancient Hiong-nou, or Huns. The Chinese geography of that empire, (tome i. part ii. p. 15, 16, 17) seems to comprise a part of their empire.

‡ See la Description (tome i. p. 15, 16) a considerable description, with a correct map, of the country of the Mangous.

formidable empire. Towards the East, their victorious arms were stopped only by the ocean; and the tribes, which are thinly scattered between the Amoor and the extreme peninsula of Corea, adhered, with reluctance, to the standard of the Huns. On the West, near the head of the Irish, and in the valleys of Imans, they found a more ample space, and more numerous enemies. One of the lieutenants of the Tauton subdued in a single expedition twenty-six nations; the Igours,¹ distinguished above the Tartar race by the use of letters, were in the number of his vassals; and, by the strange connection of human events, the flight of one of those vagrant tribes recalled the victorious Parthians from the invasion of Syria.² On the side of the North, the ocean was assigned as the limit of the power of the Huns. Without enemies to resist their progress, or witnesses to contradict their vanity, they might securely achieve a real, or imaginary, conquest of the frozen regions of Siberia. The *Notthera Sea* was fixed as the remote boundary of their empire. But the name of that sea, on whose shores the patriot Soven embraced the life of a shepherd and an exile,³ may be transferred, with much more

¹ The Igours, or Ygours, were divided into three branches, *Amoury, Kouray, and Kourouy*; and the last class was divided by the two names. See *the English*, part II. c. 2.

² Mordax de Parthia, des Parthiens, tom. xix. p. 11-12. The comprehensive view of Mr. de Guignes has transported them from Syria to India.

³ The name of Soven, or So-on, his family, and his singular adventures, are still celebrated in Corea. See the *King de Mandchou*, p. 26, and notes, p. 241-242; and *Memoires sur la Chine*, tom. vi. p. 247-248.

probability, to the Baikal, a capacious basin, above three hundred miles in length, which disdains the modest appellation of a lake,¹ and which actually communicates with the sea of the North, by the long course of the Angara, the Tunguska, and the Jenisea. The submission of so many distant nations might flatter the pride of the Tartar; but the valour of the Huns could be rewarded only by the enjoyment of the wealth and luxury of the empire of the South. In the third century before the Christian era, a wall of fifteen hundred miles in length was constructed, to defend the frontiers of China against the incursions of the Huns;² but this stupendous work, which holds a conspicuous place in the map of the world, has never contributed to the safety of an unsavory people. The cavalry of the Tartar frequently consisted of two or three hundred thousand men, formidable by the matchless dexterity with which they managed their bows and their horses; by their hardy patience in supporting the inclemency of the weather; and by the incredible speed of their march, which was seldom checked by torrents, or precipices, by the deepest rivers, or by the most lofty mountains.

¹ See *Journal de la Sibirie*, in *Humboldt's collection*, vol. II, p. 331; *Ball's Travels*, vol. I, p. 247-248; and *Gmelin, de l'Hist. Générale des Voyages*, &c. vol. II, p. 253-258. They all remark the vulgar opinion, that the lake never grows angry and tempestuous, if any boat presumes to call it a lake. This proverbial saying often, under a disguise, expresses the almost insupportable of the natives, and the almost insupportable of travellers.

² The construction of the wall of China is mentioned by *Diodore*, *lib. II*, p. 437, and *de Guignes*, *ibid.* II, p. 476.

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Thus far
with the
Chinese,
see Chap.
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They turned themselves at once over the side of the country; and then rapid impetuosity surprised, astonished, and disconcerted the grave and elaborate tactics of a Chinese army. The emperor Kianli,¹ a soldier of fortune, whose personal merit had raised him to the throne, marched against the Huns with those veteran troops which had been trained in the civil wars of China. But he was soon surrounded by the barbarians; and after a siege of seven days, the monarch, hopeless of relief, was reduced to purchasing his deliverance by an ignominious capitulation. The artificers of Kianli, whose lives were dedicated to the arts of peace, or the luxury of the palace, submitted to a more permanent disgrace. They too hastily confessed the insufficiency of arms and fortifications. They were too easily convinced, that while the blaring signals continued on every side the approach of the Huns, the Chinese troops, who slept with the helmet on their head, and the cuirass on their back, were destroyed by the incessant labour of ineffectual marches.² A regular payment of money, and silk, was stipulated as the condition

¹ See the life of Kien-ping, or Kianli, in the Hist. de la Chine, published at Paris 1772, 4to, tom. 6, p. 422-276. This voluminous work is the translation by the P. de Malet of the *Shi-Tsing-Kao* (See the celebrated abridgement of the great History of China, by Malet, 1781) and the continuation.

² See a list and notice of several, preserved in a *Shi-Tsing-Kao* in the original MSS. (Mss. de la Bibl. de la Cour, 178-187), in *Recherches* sur la p. 471-476; from a collection of these papers, marked with the red seal of the *Shi-Tsing-Kao*, 1784-1785. Another fragment from the original of the *Shi-Tsing-Kao*, tom. 12, p. 485, supposes some violent destruction of the resources of the Huns.

of a temporary and precarious peace; and the wretched expedient of disguising a real tribute, under the name of a gift or a subsidy, was practised by the emperors of China, as well as by those of Rome. But there still remained a more disgraceful article of tribute, which violated the sacred feelings of humanity and nature. The hardships of the savage life, which destroy in their infancy the children who are born with a less healthy and robust constitution, introduce a remarkable disproportion between the numbers of the two sexes. The Tartars are an ugly, and even deformed race; and, while they consider their own women as the instruments of domestic labour, their desires, or rather their appetites, are directed to the enjoyment of more elegant beauty. A select band of the fairest maidens of China was annually devoted to the rude embraces of the Huns;* and the alliance of the haughty Tanjous was secured by their marriage with the genuine, or adopted, daughters of the imperial family, which vainly attempted to escape the sacrilegious pollution. The situation of these unhappy victims is described in the verses of a Chinese princess, who laments that she had been condemned by her parents to a distant exile, under a barbarian husband; who complains that sour milk was her only drink, raw flesh her only food, a tent her only palace; and who expresses, in a strain of pathetic simplicity, the natural wish

* A supply of women is mentioned as a customary article of treaty and tribute. (*Hist. de la Conquête de la Chine, par les Tartares Manchoux*, tom. 1, p. 184, 185, with the note of the editor.)

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that she were transformed into a bird, to fly back to her dear country: the object of her wishes and perpetual regret.*

Decline
and Fall of
the Huns.

The conquest of China has been twice achieved by the pastoral tribes of the North: the forces of the Huns were not inferior to those of the Moguls, or of the Mantchoux: and their ambition might entertain the most sanguine hopes of success. But their pride was humbled, and their progress was checked, by the arms and policy of Youti,[†] the fifth emperor of the powerful dynasty of the Han. In his long reign of fifty-four years, the barbarians of the southern provinces submitted to the laws and manners of China: and the ancient limits of the monarchy were enlarged, from the great river of Kiang, to the port of Canton. Instead of confining himself to the timid operations of a defensive war, his lieutenants penetrated many hundred miles into the country of the Huns. In those boundless deserts, where it is impossible to form magazines, and difficult to transport a sufficient supply of provisions, the armies of Youti were repeatedly exposed to intolerable hardships: and, of one hundred and forty thousand soldiers, who marched against the barbarians, thirty thousand only returned in safety to the feet of their master. These losses, however, were compensated by splendid and decisive success. The Chinese go-

Ant.
Christ.
141-87.

* De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 87.

† See the reign of the emperor Youti, in the *Yang-Hoo*, tom. iii. p. 196. His various and inconsistent character seems to be imperfectly drawn.

derals improved the superiority which they derived from the temper of their arms, their chariots of war, and the service of their Tartar auxiliaries. The camp of the Tanjou was surprised in the midst of sleep and intemperance: and, though the monarch of the Huns bravely cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he left above fifteen thousand of his subjects on the field of battle. Yet this signal victory, which was preceded and followed by many bloody engagements, contributed much less to the destruction of the power of the Huns, than the effectual policy which was employed to detach the tributary nations from their obedience. Intimidated by the arms, or allured by the promises, of Youti and his successors, the most considerable tribes, both of the East and of the West, disclaimed the authority of the Tanjou. While some acknowledged themselves the allies or vassals of the empire, they all became the implacable enemies of the Huns: and the numbers of that haughty people, as soon as they were reduced to their native strength, might, perhaps, have been contained within the walls of one of the great and populous cities of China.* The desertion of his subjects, and the perplexity of a civil war, at length compelled the Tanjou himself to renounce the dignity of an independent sovereign, and the freedom of a warlike and high-spirited

Ant.
Christ, 7th

* This expression is used in the memorial to the emperor Youti, (Okinaka, tom. ii, p. 417). Without adopting the exaggerations of Marco Polo and Jean Yemine, we may reasonably guess for Pekin, two millions of inhabitants. The cities of the South, which contain the manufactures of China, are still more populous.

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nation. He was received at Sigan, the capital of the monarchy, by the troops, the Mandarins, and the emperor himself, with all the honours that could adorn and disguise the triumph of Chinese vanity. A magnificent palace was prepared for his reception; his place was assigned above all the princes of the royal family; and the patience of the barbarian king was exhausted by the ceremonies of a banquet, which consisted of eight courses of meat, and of nine solemn pieces of music. But he performed, on his knees, the duty of a respectful homage to the emperor of China; pronounced, in his own name, and in the name of his successors, a perpetual oath of fidelity; and gratefully accepted a seal, which was bestowed as the emblem of his regal dependence. After this humiliating submission, the Tanjous sometimes departed from their allegiance and seized the favourable moments of war and rapine; but the monarchy of the Huns gradually declined, till it was broken, by civil dissension, into two hostile and separate kingdoms. One of the princes of the nation was urged, by fear and ambition, to retire towards the South with eight hords, which composed between forty and fifty thousand families. He obtained, with the title of Tanjou, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chinese provinces; and his constant attachment to the service of the

A. D. 18

¹ See the *Emp. Man*, tom. iii. p. 130, and the subsequent notes, under the proper years. This memorable festival is recorded of in the *Emp. de Mandchou*, and explained in a note by Out. P. Geogr. vol. p. 20, 21.

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empire was secured by weakness, and the desire of revenge. From the time of this fatal schism, the Huns of the North continued to languish about fifty years; till they were oppressed on every side by their foreign and domestic enemies. The proud inscription of a column, erected on a lofty mountain, announced to posterity, that a Chinese army had marched seven hundred miles into the heart of their country. The Scythians, a tribe of Oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries which they had formerly sustained; and the power of the Tuobas, after a reign of thirteen hundred years, was utterly destroyed before the end of the first century of the Christian era.*

The fate of the vanquished Huns was diversified by the various influence of character and situation.† Above one hundred thousand persons, the poorest, indeed, and the most pusillanimous, of the people, were constrained to remain in their native country, to renounce their peculiar name and origin, and to mingle with the victorious natives of the Scythia. Fifty-eight hundred, or about two hundred thousand men, ambitious of a

These were
gratified,
A. D. 100,
see

* This inscription was discovered at the spot by Pauthier, President of the Tribunal at Hienan. (Kempf, Voy. tom. II. p. 205.) Whether the barbarians have been discovered in many parts of Turkey, Africa, and the Indies, tom. II. p. 227.

† M. de Guignes, tom. I. p. 254, has inserted an exact account of the Huns.

‡ The sex of the Huns is proved by the Chinese, 2210 years before Christ. But the names of their Kings find not continuance till the year 220. (Mém. des Huns, tom. II. p. 21, 22.)

§ Two various traditions of the descent and flight of the Huns are related in the Kien-ning, tom. II. p. 28, 31, 32, 128, &c. The small numbers of men that did he arrived in their houses and divisions.

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continued

more honourable servitude, retired towards the South; implored the protection of the emperors of China; and were permitted to inhabit, and to guard, the extreme frontiers of the province of Chansi and the territory of Orkous. But the most warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained, in their adverse fortune, the undaunted spirit of their ancestors. The western world was open to their valour; and they resolved, under the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to discover and subdue some remote country, which was still inaccessible to the arms of the Sienpi, and to the laws of China.* The course of their emigration soon carried them beyond the mountains of Imäus, and the limits of the Chinese geography; but we are able to distinguish the two great divisions of these formidable exiles, which directed their march towards the Oxus, and towards the Volga. The first of these colonies established their dominion in the fruitful and extensive plains of Sogdiana, on the eastern side of the Caspian; where they preserved the name of Huns, with the epithet of Euthalites, or Nepthalites. Their manners were softened, and even their features were insensibly improved, by the mildness of the climate, and their long residence in a flourishing province,† which might

The white
Huns of
Sogdiana.

* M. de Halévy has skillfully traced the footsteps of the Huns through the vast deserts of Turkey, *ibid.* 4, p. 125, 217, &c. 225, &c.

† Muhammad, Sultan of Caracoe, retired to Sogdiana, when it was invaded (A. D. 1218) by Gengis and his troops. The Oriental Historians (see d'Herbelot, *Paris* &c. de Caste, *Rec. asiat.* man)

still retain a faint impression of the arts of Greece.* The *white Huns*, a name which they derived from the change of their complexions, soon abandoned the pastoral life of Scythia Gorge, which, under the appellation of Carisme, has since enjoyed a temporary splendour, was the residence of the king, who exercised a legal authority over an obedient people. Their luxury was maintained by the labour of the Sogdians; and the only vestige of their ancient barbarism, was the custom which obliged all the companions, perhaps to the number of twenty, who had shared the liberality of a wealthy lord, to be buried alive in the same grave.^b The vicinity of the Huns to the provinces of Persia, involved them in frequent and bloody contests with the power of that monarchy. But they respected, in peace, the faith of treaties; in war, the dictates of humanity; and their memorable victory over Peroses, or Parus, displayed the moderation, as well as the valour, of the barbarians. The second division of their countrymen, the Huns, who gradually advanced towards the

The Huns
of the
Volga.

west the populous cities which he invaded, and the fruitful country which he desolated. In the next century, the same provinces of Chersonese and Mesopotamia were desolated by Attila's, (Hæcclius, *Geograph. Nomencl. torn. i. c.*) Their actual country may be seen in the *Historical History of the Tartars*, p. 473-483.

* Justin (lib. vi) has left a short statement of the Commerce of Bactriana. To this passage I should add the new and extraordinary trade, which transported the merchandises of India into Europe, by the Ganges, the Caspian, the Cyrus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. The other great trade of the land and sea, were provided by the Indians and the Persians. (See *History des Indes*, &c. tom. i.)

^b *Pliny's de Bell. Persicis*, l. i. c. 3, p. 8.

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north-west, were exercised by the hardships of a colder climate, and a more laborious mode. Necessity compelled them to exchange the silk of China, for the furs of Siberia; the imperfect rudiments of civilized life were obliterated; and the native fierceness of the Huns was exasperated by their intercourse with the savage tribes, who were squandered, with more propensity, to the wild bosoms of the desert. Their independent spirit soon rejected the hereditary succession of the Canjous; and while each band was governed by its peculiar Murgu, their tumultuary council directed the public measures of the whole nation. As late as the thirteenth century, their transient residence on the eastern banks of the Volga, was attested by the name of Great Hungers. In the winter, they descended with their flocks and herds towards the mouth of that mighty river; and their summer excursions reached as high as the latitude of Saratoff, or perhaps the conflux of the Kama. Such at least were the recent limits of the black Calmucks,* who remained about a century under the protection of Russia and who have since returned to their native seats on the frontiers of the Chinese empire. The march, and the return, of these wandering Tartars.

In the thirteenth century the monk Hui-cheng (who was afterwards appointed prior of Koyang in the province of Szechuen) observed the remarkable name of *Hungers*, with the sense of a common language and origin, from the Chinese, *hou*, vii. p. 243.

* A Bell, *trav. l. p.* 18-24, and the letters of the Government of Russia, (p. 410), have described the Calmucks of the Volga in the beginning of the present century.

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ing the understanding, of the reader : but I cannot suppress the very natural suspicion, *that* the Huns of the North derived a considerable reinforcement from the ruin of the dynasty of the South, which, in the course of the third century, submitted to the dominion of China ; *that* the bravest warriors marched away in search of their free and adventurous countrymen ; *and* that, as they had been divided by prosperity, they were easily reunited by the common hardships of their adverse fortune.* The Huns, with their flocks and herds, their wives and children, their dependants and allies, were transported to the west of the Volga, and they boldly advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a pastoral people who occupied, or wasted, an extensive tract of the deserts of Scythia. The plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the tents of the Alani, but their name and numbers were diffused over the wide extent of their conquests ; and the painted tribes of the Agathyræi and Geloni were confounded among their vassals. Towards the north, they penetrated into the frozen regions of Siberia, among the savages who were accustomed, in their rage or hunger, to the taste of human flesh : and their southern incursions were pushed as far as the confines of Persia and India. The mixture of Sarmatic and

* See the *Histoire des Huns*, tom. II. p. 122-144. The subsequent history (p. 144-177) of three or four Hunnic expeditions evidently proves, that their martial spirit was not lessened by a long residence in China.

German blood had contributed to improve the features of the Alani, to whiten their swarthy complexions, and to tinge their hair with a yellowish cast, which is seldom found in the Tartar race. They were less deformed in their persons, less brutish in their manners, than the Huns; but they did not yield to those formidable barbarians in their martial and independent spirit; in the love of freedom, which rejected even the use of domestic slaves; and in the love of arms, which considered war and rapine as the pleasure and the glory of mankind. A naked cimiter, fixed in the ground, was the only object of their religious worship; the scalps of their enemies formed the costly trappings of their harness; and they viewed, with pity and contempt, the pusillanimous warriors, who patiently expected the infirmities of age, and the tortures of lingering disease.* On the banks of the Tannia, the military power of the Huns and the Alani encountered each other with equal valour, but with unequal success. The Huns prevailed in the bloody contest: the king of the Alani was slain; and the remains of the vanquished nation were dispersed by the ordinary alternative of flight or extermination.† A colony of exiles found a secure

* *Tempus transmissio quædam et gladiosa stragem, ut solentibus, his illis personis juvenum et bellæ. Indignitas illi leuatur, quæ se patitur proculdubio indignum: circumscriptæ animæ et fortissimæ mortificæ vocis dignitas, et dignitas et ignominia, condita attritione coarctatur. We must think highly of the consequences of such wars.*

† On the subject of the Alani, see AMMIANUS, (xxvi, 7); JERONIMUS, *de Helio Gotico*, c. 13; M. de GONGOR, *Alibi de Hunis*, lib. ii. p. 878, and the *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, 1790, 4, p. 617.

They added, the surprise and abhorrence (which were excited by the shrill voices, the uncouth gestures, and the strange deformity, of the Huns. These savages of Scythia were compared (and the picture had some resemblance) to the animals who walk very awkwardly on two legs; and to the misshapen flexes, the *Ternia*, which were often placed on the bridges of antiquity. They were distinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head; and as they were almost destitute of brains, they never enjoyed either the manly grace of youth or the venerable aspect of age.¹ A fabulous origin was assigned worthy of their form and manners; that the witches of Scythia, who, for their foul and deadly practices, had been driven from society, had copulated in the desert with infernal spirits; and that the Huns were the offspring of this execrable conjunction.² The tale, so full of horror and absurdity, was greedily embraced by the credulous hatred at the Goths; but, while it gratified their hatred, it decreased their fear; since the posterity of demons and witches might be supposed to inherit some share of the prefer-

[illegible]

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natural powers, as well as of the malignant temper of their parents. Against these enemies, Hermanric prepared to exert the united forces of the Gothic state: but he soon discovered that his rural tribes, provoked by oppression, were much more inclined to second, than to repel, the invasion of the Huns. One of the chiefs of the Roxolani^a had formerly deserted the standard of Hermanric, and the cruel tyrant had condemned the innocent wife of the traitor to be torn asunder by wild horses. The brothers of that unfortunate woman seized the favourable moment of revenge. The aged king of the Goths languished some time after the dangerous wound which he received from their daggers: but the conduct of the war was retarded by his infirmities; and the public councils of the nation were distracted by a spirit of jealousy and discord. His death, which has been imputed to his own despair, left the reins of government in the hands of Withimer, who, with the doubtful aid of some Scythian mercenaries, maintained the unequal contest against the arms of the Huns and the Alani, till he was defeated and slain in a decisive battle. The Ostrogoths submitted to their fate: and the royal race of the Amali will hereafter be found among the subjects of the haughty Attila. But the person of Withimer, the infant king, was saved by

^a The Roxolani may be the fathers of the *Tartar*, the *Barbarians*, of *Geoffrey*, *Empire of Russia*, p. 1416, whose residence (A. D. 800) about *Notogard* Vallis cannot be very remote from that which the *Geographer of Byzantium* (l. 12. c. 4; 46. v; 28. 28) assigns to the *Reveland*, (A. D. 885).

the diligence of Alathius and Saphrax, two warriors of approved valour and fidelity: who, by cautious marches, conducted the independent remains of the nation of the Ostrogoths towards the Danubius, or Niester: a considerable river, which now separates the Turkish dominions from the empire of Russia. On the banks of the Niester, the prudent Athanaric, more attentive to his own than to the general safety, had fixed the camp of the Visigoths: with the firm resolution of opposing the victorious barbarians, whom he thought it less advisable to provoke. The ordinary speed of the Huns was checked by the weight of luggage, and the encumbrance of captives: but their military skill deceived, and almost destroyed the army of Athanaric. While the judge of the Visigoths defended the banks of the Niester, he was encompassed and attacked by a numerous detachment of cavalry, who, by the light of the moon, had passed the river in a fordable place; and it was not without the utmost efforts of courage and conduct, that he was able to effect his retreat towards the hilly country. The undaunted general had already formed a new and judicious plan of defensive war; and the strong lines, which he was preparing to construct between the mountains, the Pruth and the Danube, would have secured the extensive and fertile territory that bears the modern name of Wallachia, from the destructive inroads of the Huns.* But the

* The last of Atanaric seems to be interpreted as *warrior*; but the names of the ground, *crabius*, and almost *delius*, the Gothic *campus*. *Memoires de l'Academie, An. 1755, 1756, p. 434-437.*

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important measure of the judge of the Volga, the
operation disappointed: by the trembling hope
inspired in all unwarlike country men, who were per-
suaded by their friends, that the interposition of the
Darius was throughly sincere, that would save them
from the rapid pursuit and inevitable capture, of
the hordes of Scythia. Under the command
of Filagern and Alaricus, the body of the nation
hastily advanced to the banks of the great river,
and implored the protection of the Roman em-
peror of the east. Athanasius himself, still anxious
to avoid the guilt of perjury, retired with a band
of faithful followers, into the mountainous coun-
try of Caucasus: which appears to have been
penetrated, and almost ravaged, by the impene-
trable forests of Transylvania.*

The Greeks
begin the pro-
secution of
Valens.
A.D. 316.

After Valens had terminated the Gothic war
with some appearance of glory and success, he
made a progress through his dominions of Asia,
and at length fixed his residence in the capital in
Syria. The five years[†] which he spent at An-
tich were employed to watch, from a secure
distance, the hostile designs of the Persian in-
surgent, to check the depredations of the Sarmatians
and Iudians; to censure, by arguments more

* It is probable that the Scythians, who are first dis-
covered in the reign of this Valens, were the same people as
those who first invaded the Empire, the grandson of a
Cappadocian prince, the old Germanic nation of the Goths.

† Calixtus lived six years in Rome, the Roman Emperor, &c. The
length of his reign is not the same as the length of his reign.

‡ The duration of his reign is not the same as the length of his reign.

* Eusebius, Hist. p. 424. See also, p. 425. The duration
of his reign is not the same as the length of his reign.
The duration of his reign is not the same as the length of his reign.
The duration of his reign is not the same as the length of his reign.

prevalent than those of reason and eloquence, the helict of the Asian theology; and to satisfy his anxious suspicions by the promulgation, execution of the innocent and the guilty. — But the attention of the emperor was most seriously engaged, by the important intelligence which he received from the civil and military officers who were intrusted with the defence of the Danube. He was informed, that the north was agitated by a furious tempest; that the eruption of the Huns, an unknown and invincible race of savages, had subverted the power of the Goths; and that the suppliant multitudes of that warlike nation, whose pride was now humbled in the dust, covered a space of many miles along the banks of the river. With entretried prayers, and pathetic lamentations, they loudly deplored their past misfortunes and their present danger: acknowledged, that their only hope of safety, was in the clemency of the Russian government; and most solemnly protested, that if the generous liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waste lands of Thron, they should ever hold themselves bound, by the strongest obligations of duty and gratitude, to obey the laws, and to guard the limits of the republic. These assurances were confirmed by the ambassador of the Goths, who indignantly expected, from the mouth of Ysion, an answer that would finally determine the fate of these unhappy countrymen. The emperor of the East was no longer guided by the wisdom and authority of his chief brother, whose death happened towards the end of the preceding year.

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and in the distressed situation of the Goths required an instant and peremptory decision, he was deprived of the favourite resource of feeble and timid minds; who consider the use of dilatory and ambiguous measures as the most admirable efforts of consummate prudence. — As long as the same passions and interests subsist among mankind, the questions of war and peace, of justice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently present themselves as the subject of modern deliberation. But the most experienced statesman of Europe has never been summoned to consider the propriety, or the danger, of admitting, or rejecting, an immense multitude of barbarians, who are driven by despair and hunger to solicit a settlement on the territories of a civilized nation. When that important proposition, so essentially connected with the public safety, was referred to the ministers of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they soon acquiesced in the flattering sentiment which seemed the most favourable to the pride, the indulgence, and the avarice of their sovereign. The slaves, who were decorated with the titles of prefects and generals, dissembled or disregarded the terrors of this national emigration: so extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies, which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune, which had conducted, from the most distant countries of the globe, a numerous and invincible army of strangers, to defend the throne of Valens; who might now add

to the royal treasures, the immense sums of gold supplied by the provincials to compensate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were granted, and their service was accepted by the imperial court: and orders were immediately despatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian diocese, to make the necessary preparations for the passage and subsistence of a great people, till a proper and sufficient territory could be allotted for their future residence. The liberality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with two harsh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might justify on the side of the Romans; lest which distress alone could extort from the indignant Goths. Before they passed the Danube, they were required to deliver their arms: and it was insisted, that their children should be taken from them, and dispersed through the provinces of Asia; where they might be civilized by the arts of education, and serve as hostages to secure the fidelity of their parents.

During this suspense of a doubtful and distant negotiation, the impatient Goths made some rash attempts to pass the Danube, without the permission of the government, whose protection they had implored. Their motions were strictly observed by the vigilance of the troops which were stationed along the river: and their foremost detachments were defeated with considerable slaughter: yet such were the timid councils of the reign of Valens, that the brave officers who

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They were
transported
across
the Danube
into
the Roman
provinces
and given.

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had served their country, in the execution of their duty, were punished by the loss of their employments, and narrowly escaped the loss of their heads. The imperial mandate was at length received for transporting over the Danube the whole body of the Gothic nation; but the execution of this order was a task of labour and difficulty. The stream of the Danube, which in these parts is above a mile broad, had been swelled by incessant rains; and, in this tumultuous passage, many were swept away, and drowned, by the rapid violence of the current. A large fleet of vessels, of boats, and of rafts, was provided: many days and nights they passed and repassed with indefatigable toil; and the most strenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens, that not a single barbarian, of those who were reserved to subvert the foundations of Rome, should be left on the opposite shore. It was thought expedient that inaccurate account should be taken of their numbers; but the persons who were employed soon desisted, with amusement and dismay, from the prosecution of the enterprise.

The passage of the Danube is related by Ammianus, lib. 31, c. 4; Claudius, lib. 17, p. 232, 233; Socrates in *Eclogis*, lib. 10, c. 23, and Hieronymus, lib. 22, c. 20. Ammianus's account is the most accurate, only in some circumstances inconsistent. But his story conveys a false picture of their appearance; and his description of their conduct is entirely falsified by his own account of the event.

Claudian, a native of the city, has mentioned the march of the Goths, when he passed to the south of Bithynia, into the country of the Asiphi, lib. 77. He mentions the beauty and extent of the country of the Asiphi, as follows.

and impracticable task; and the principal historians of the age most seriously affirm, that the prodigious number of Dacians and Sarmæ, which had so long been considered as the bidden of vain and credulous antiquity, were now justified, in the eyes of mankind, by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable testimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thousand men; and it is a reasonable addition the just proportion of women, of children, and of slaves, the whole mass of people which composed this formidable emigration, must have amounted to near a million of persons, of both sexes, most of all ages. The children of the Goths, though at least of a distinguished race, were separated from the multitude. They were conducted, without delay, to the distant seats assigned for their residence and education; and as the numerous trains of hostages or captives rolled through the cities, their gay and splendid apparel, their robust and martial figure, excited the surprise and envy of the provincials. But the stipulation, the most offensive to the Goths, and the most important to the Romans, was shamefully eluded. The barbarians, who considered their arms as the ensigns of honour, and the pledges of safety, were disposed to offer a price, which the insatiable avidity of the imperial officers was easily tempted to

* *Quædam etiam, quæ, à Gothis, et à Sarmis, ab eis*

Romani, et alii, à Gothis, et à Sarmis, ab eis

Ancient History, lib. 45, c. 1, p. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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accept. To preserve their arms, the haughty warriors consented, with some reluctance, to prostitute their wives or their daughters; the charms of a beautiful maid, or a comely boy, secured the connivance of the inspectors: who sometimes cast an eye of covetousness on the fringed carpets and linen garments of their new allies; or who sacrificed their duty to the mean consideration of filling their farms with cattle, and their houses with slaves. The Goths, with arms in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and when their strength was collected on the other side of the river, the immense camp which was spread over the plains and the hills of the Lower Mæsia, assumed a threatening and even hostile aspect. The leaders of the Ostrogoths, Mathias and Saphrax, the guardians of their infant king, appeared soon afterwards on the northern banks of the Danube; and immediately despatched their ambassadors to the court of Antioch, to solicit, with the same professions of allegiance and gratitude, the same favour which had been granted to the suppliant Visigoths. The absolute refusal of Valens suspended their progress, and discovered the repentance, the suspicious, and the fears of the imperial council.

Their dis-
tress and
discon-
tent.

An undisciplined and unsettled nation of barbarians required the firmest temper, and the most dexterous management. The daily sub-

* Eusebius and Zosimus erroneously specify these articles of Gothic wealth and luxury. Yet it must be remembered, that they were the necessaries of the prisoners, among the barbarians had acquired at the spoil of war, or at the gifts, or merchandise, of peace.

viaticum of near a million of extraordinary subjects could be supplied only by constant and skilful diligence, and might continually be interrupted by mistake or accident. The insolence, or the indignation, of the Goths, if they conceived themselves to be the objects, either of fear, or of contempt, might urge them to the most desperate extremities: and the fortune of the state seemed to depend on the prudence, as well as the integrity, of the generals of Valens. At this important crisis, the military government of Thrace was exercised by Lupicinus and Maximus, in whose venal minds the slightest hope of private emolument outweighed every consideration of public advantage; and whose guilt was only alleviated by their incapacity of discerning the pernicious effects of their rash and criminal administration. Instead of obeying the orders of their sovereign, and satisfying, with decent liberality, the demands of the Goths, they levied an ungenerous and oppressive tax on the wants of the hungry barbarians. The vilest food was sold at an extravagant price; and, in the stead of wholesome and substantial provisions, the markets were filled with the flesh of dogs, and of unclean animals, who had died of disease. To obtain the valuable acquisition of a pound of bread, the Goths resigned the possession of an expensive, though servicable, slave; and a small quantity of meat was greedily purchased with ten pounds of a precious, but useless metal.* When their

* *Denarii fides*; the word *denarius* must be understood. *Denarius* sweeps the passions and prejudices of a Goth. The word *denarius* is a compound.

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[Continued.]

property was exhausted, they continued this necessary traffic by the side of their sons and daughters; and notwithstanding the love of freedom, which animated every Gothic breast, they submitted to the humiliating maxim, that it was better for their children to be maintained in a servile condition, than to perish in a state of wretched and helpless independence. The most lively resentment is excited by the tyranny of pretended benefactors, who sternly exact the debt of gratitude which they have cancelled by subsequent injuries: a spirit of discontent immensely arose in the camp of the barbarians, who pleaded, without success, the merit of their patient and dutiful behaviour: and loudly complained of the inhospitable treatment which they had received from their new allies. They beheld around them the wealth and plenty of a fertile province, in the midst of which they suffered the intolerable hardships of artificial famine. But the means of relief, and even of revenge, were in their hands; since the rapaciousness of their tyrants had left, to an injured people, the possession and the use of arms. The clamours of a multitude, untaught to disguise their sentiments, announced the first symptoms of resistance, and alarmed the timid and guilty minds of Lapidianus and Maximus. Those crafty ministers, who substituted

Conspicui et Zosimus, deplore the Roman oppression, and excite the pride of the barbarians. Ammianus, a partial historian, rightly and reflectively handles the allied subject. Jovian, who wrote almost on the spot, is fair, though severe. Per avaritiam Romanis fides, et studium inter seculum, (in Chron.).

the enacting of temporary expedients to the wise and salutary counsels of general policy, attempted to remove the Goths from their dangerous station on the frontiers of the empire; and to disperse them in separate quarters of cantonment, through the interior provinces. As they were conscious how ill they had deserved the respect, or confidence, of the barbarians; they diligently collected from every side, a military force, that might urge the tardy and reluctant march of a people, who had not yet renounced the title, or the duties, of Roman subjects. But the generals of Valens, while their attention was solely directed to the discontented Visigoths, imprudently disarmed the ships and the fortifications which constituted the defence of the Danube. The fatal oversight was observed, and improved, by Alatheus and Saphrax, who anxiously watched the favourable moment of escaping from the pursuit of the Huns. By the help of such rafts and vessels as could be hastily procured, the leaders of the Ostrogoths transported, without opposition, their king and their army; and boldly fixed an hostile and independent camp on the territories of the empire.*

Under the name of judges, Alavivus and Frigern were the leaders of the Visigoths in peace and war: and the authority which they derived from their birth, was ratified by the free consent of the nation. In a season of tranquillity, their power might have been equal, as well as their

Revolt of
the Goths,
in Massia,
and their
first de-
votion.

* Ammianus, l. xiv. c. 2.

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rank; but, as soon as their countrymen were exasperated by hunger and oppression, the superior abilities of Frithigern assumed the military command, which he was qualified to exercise for the public welfare. He restrained the impatient spirit of the Visigoths, till the injuries and the insults of their tyrants should justify their resistance in the opinion of mankind: but he was not disposed to sacrifice any solid advantages for the empty praise of justice and moderation. Sensible of the benefits which would result from the union of the Gothic powers under the same standard, he secretly cultivated the friendship of the Ostragoths: and while he professed an implicit obedience to the orders of the Roman generals, he proceeded by slow marches towards Marcianopolis, the capital of the lower *Moesia*, about seventy miles from the banks of the *Danube*. On that fatal spot, the flames of discord and mutual hatred burst forth into a dreadful conflagration. *Aspicius* had invited the Gothic chiefs to a splendid entertainment: and their martial train remained under arms at the entrance of the palace. But the gates of the city were strictly guarded, and the barbarians were sternly excluded from the use of a plentiful market, to which they asserted their equal claim of subjects and allies. Their humble prayers were rejected with insolence and derision: and as their patience was now exhausted, the townsmen, the soldiers, and the Goths, were soon involved in a conflict of passionate altercation and angry re-

princes. A blow was imprudently given; a sword was justly drawn; and the first blood that was spilt in this accidental quarrel, became the signal of a long and destructive war. In the midst of noise and brutal intemperance, Luperinus was informed, by a secret messenger, that many of his soldiers were slain, and despoiled of their arms; and as he was already inflamed by wine, and oppressed by sleep, he issued a rash command, that their death should be revenged by the massacre of the guards of Fritigern and Alarivus. The clamorous shouts and dying groans apprised Fritigern of his extreme danger: and, as he possessed the calm and intrepid spirit of a hero, he saw that he was lost if he allowed a moment of deliberation to the man who had so deeply injured him. "A trifling dispute," said the Gothic leader, with a firm but gentle tone of voice, "appears to have arisen between the two nations: but it may be productive of the most dangerous consequences, unless the tumult is immediately pacified by the assurance of our safety, and the authority of our presence." At these words, Fritigern and his companions drew their swords, opened their passage through the intermingling crowd, which filled the palace, the streets, and the gates, of Constantinople, and, mounting their horses, hostile vanished from the eyes of the astonished Romans. The generals of the Goths were saluted by the fierce and joyful acclamations of the camp; war was instantly resolved, and the resolution was

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executed without delay: the banners of the nation were displayed according to the custom of their ancestors: and the air resounded with the harsh and mournful music of the barbarian trumpet.* The weak and guilty Lupicinus, who had dared to provoke, who had neglected to destroy, and who still presumed to despise, his formidable enemy, marched against the Goths, at the head of such a military force as could be collected on this sudden emergency. The barbarians expected his approach about nine miles from Marcianopolis: and on this occasion the talents of the general were found to be of more prevailing efficacy than the weapons and discipline of the troops. The valour of the Goths was so ably directed by the genius of Frithigern, that they broke, by a close and vigorous attack, the ranks of the Roman legions. Lupicinus left his arms and standards, his tribunes and his bravest soldiers, on the field of battle: and their useless courage served only to protect the ignominious flight of their leader. That successful day put an end to the distress of the barbarians, and the security of the Ro-

* *Vergil de more bellico, multaque tribo, puerisque claudis.* *Æneid.* viii. l. 1. These are the most correct of Claudius the Rhetorist, li. 37, the long horse of the Drac, or wild bull, and as long time were usually sold by the Roman Emperor of the East. Claudius the Rhetorist *Æneid.* li. 37, p. 101, edit. Paganus. Paris 1734. The military uses is found, though perhaps casually, inserted in an original narrative of the battle of Marston, A. D. 1147. "Abundant in number is the cow but small get from him, that you is not the smallest get from him, as you shall see." *Modestus de Brevitate* *lib. 2. Modestus* *lib. 2.* (See the *Plinius Institutiones* in the 2d edition of *Thierry de Comines*, tom. iii. p. 190.)

"mans: from that day, the Goths, renouncing
 "the precarious condition of strangers and exiles,
 "assumed the character of citizens and masters,
 "obtained an absolute dominion over the pos-
 "sessors of land, and held, in their own right,
 "the northern provinces of the empire, which
 "are bounded by the Danube." Such are the
 words of the Gothic historian,¹ who celebrates
 with rude eloquence, the glory of his country-
 men. But the dominion of the barbarians was
 exercised only for the purposes of rapine and de-
 struction. As they had been deprived, by the
 ministers of the emperor, of the common benefits
 of nature, and the fair intercourse of social life,
 they retaliated the injustice on the subjects of the
 empire; and the crimes of Lupicinus were ex-
 piated by the ruin of the peaceful husbandmen of
 Thrace, the conflagration of their villages, and
 the massacre, or captivity, of their innocent fami-
 lies. The report of the Gothic victory was soon
 diffused over the adjacent country; and while it
 filled the minds of the Romans with terror and
 dismay, their own hasty imprudence contributed
 to increase the forces of Fritigern, and the cala-
 mities of the province. Some time before the
 great emigration, a numerous body of Goths,
 under the command of Sauril and Colias, had
 been received into the protection and service of

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 THE GOTHIC EMPIRE.

They pe-
 netrated into
 the Thracian.

¹ *Historia de Rebus Gothicis*, p. 74, p. 248, edit. Grev. These
 celebrated passages are comparatively such as are undoubtedly trans-
 lated from the larger histories of Procopius, Agathang, or Cassio-
 dorus.

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THE SIEGE OF

the empire.* They were encamped under the walls of Hadrianople: but the ministers of Valens were anxious to remove them beyond the Hellespont, at a distance from the dangerous temptation which might so easily be communicated by the neighbourhood, and the success, of their countrymen. The respectful submission with which they yielded to the order of their march, might be considered as a proof of their fidelity; and their moderate request of a sufficient allowance of provisions, and of a delay of only two days, was expressed in the most dutiful terms. But the first magistrate of Hadrianople, incensed by some disorders which had been committed at his country-house, refused this indulgence; and turning against them the inhabitants and manufacturers of a populous city, he urged, with hostile threats, their instant departure. The barbarians stood silent and amazed, till they were exasperated by the insulting clamours, and missile weapons, of the populace: but when patience or contempt was fatigued, they crushed the undisciplined multitude, inflicted many a shameful wound on the backs of their flying enemies, and despoiled them of the splendid armour, which they were unworthy to bear. The resemblance of their sufferings and their actions soon united this victorious detachment to the nation of the

* This people still linger with us, though we are ignorant of the precise date and circumstances of their immigration.

* An imperial manufacture of clothes, &c. was established at Hadrianople; and the populace were taught by the *Prohedra*, or *prohedri* (Vales. ad *Ammon.* xxi. 6).

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Vandals: the troops of Collins and Suerid expected the approach of the great Frithigern, ranged themselves under his standard, and signallized their ardour in the siege of Hadrianople. But the resistance of the garrison informed the barbarians, that, in the attack of regular fortifications, the efforts of unskilful courage are seldom effectual. Their general acknowledged his error, raised the siege, declared that "he was at peace with stone walls,"¹ and revenged his disappointment on the adjacent country. He accepted, with pleasure, the useful reinforcement of hardy workmen, who laboured in the gold mines of Thrace,² for the emolument, and under the lash, of an unfeeling master;³ and these new associates conducted the barbarians, through the secret paths, to the most sequestered places, which had been chosen to secure the inhabitants, the cattle, and the magazines of corn. With the assistance of such guides, nothing could remain impervious; or invulnerable: resistance was fatal; flight was impracticable; and the patient ad-

¹ *Frithigern non erat parvulus imperator.* Ammian. apud 7.

² These mines were in the vicinity of the Danube, in the ridge of mountains, the Rastage, that runs between Philippopolis and Philippopolis; now Maritima nova, which derived their name and origin from the father of Alexander. From the mines of Thrace he annually received the talen, and the weight, of a thousand talents. (Dion. xlii. 1.) a revenue which paid the tribute, and supported the system of Greece. See Quodan. Xiphin. loc. cit. l. vii. p. 80, with Wadding. Eubulius's Commentary on the Theodosian Laws, apud. lxx. p. 485. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. lib. i. p. 516, 517. Et deinde, Geograph. Antiquæ, tom. i. p. 120.

³ As these unhappy workmen drew the gold, Valens had ordered every third to drag them from their filings-plots. Cod. Theodosian. l. 4, tit. 14, leg. 4, 7.

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mission of helpless innocence seldom found mercy from the barbarian conqueror. In the course of these depredations, a great number of the children of the Goths, who had been sold into captivity, were restored to the embraces of their afflicted parents; but these tender interviews, which might have revived and cherished in their minds some sentiments of humanity, tended only to stimulate their native fierceness by the desire of revenge. They listened, with eager attention, to the complaints of their captive children, who had suffered the most cruel indignities from the lustful or angry passions of their masters; and the same cruelties, the same indignities, were severely retaliated on the sons and daughters of the Romans.²

Open-
tion of
the Goths
war,
A. D. 377.

The imprudence of Valens and his ministers had introduced into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies; but the Visigoths might even yet have been reconciled by the manly confession of past errors, and the sincere performance of former engagements. These healing and temperate measures seemed to concur with the timorous disposition of the sovereign of the East; but, on this occasion alone, Valens was brave; and his unreasonable bravery was fatal to himself and to his subjects. He declared his intention of marching from Antioch to Constantinople, to subdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not

² See Ammianus, *xxvi.* §. 6. The position of the Goths was soon time and again, by an unceasing multiplication of the number, turned to the barbarians.

ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise, he solicited the assistance of his nephew, the emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the West. The veteran troops were hastily recalled from the defence of Arminia; that important frontier was abandoned to the discretion of Sapor; and the immediate conduct of the Gothic war was intrusted, during the absence of Valens, to his lieutenants Trajan and Profluturus, two generals who indulged themselves in a very false and favourable opinion of their own abilities. On their arrival in Thracia, they were joined by Richomer, count of the domestics; and the auxiliaries of the West, that marched under his banner, were composed of the Gallic legions, reduced indeed by a spirit of desertion to the vain appearances of strength and numbers. In a council of war, which was influenced by pride, rather than by reason, it was resolved to seek, and to encounter, the barbarians; who lay encamped in the spacious and fertile meadows, near the most southern of the six mouths of the Danube.^a Their camp was surrounded by the usual fortification of waggons;^b and the barbarians, secure

^a The *Itinerary of Antonine* (p. 226, 227, edit. Wesseling) marks the situation of this place about 24½ miles north of Fom. Ovid's (xviii. 1) and the name of Salices (the willows) express the nature of the soil.

^b This circle of waggons, the *Carræ*, was the usual fortification of the barbarians. (Vegetius de Re Militari, l. iii, c. 11; Valerius ad Ammian. xliii. 7.) The wheels and the axles were preserved by such dissimulation, as late as the fifteenth century. The *Charræ*, which surrounded the Gog, is a word familiar to the natives of Poland, or Courland.

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within the vast circle of the inclosure, enjoyed the fruits of their valour, and the spoils of the provinces. In the midst of riotous intemperance, the watchful Frisgarn observed the motions, and penetrated the designs, of the Romans. He perceived, that the numbers of the enemy were continually increasing; and, as he understood their intention of attacking his rear, as soon as the scarcity of forage should oblige him to remove his camp, he recalled to their standard his predatory detachments, which covered the adjacent country. As soon as they descried the flaming beacon,^a they obeyed, with incredible speed, the signal of their leader: the camp was filled with the martial crowd of barbarians; their impatient clamours demanded the battle, and their tumultuous zeal was approved and animated by the spirit of their chiefs. The evening was already far advanced; and the two armies prepared themselves for the approaching combat, which was deferred only till the dawn of day. While the trumpets sounded to arms, the undaunted courage of the Goths was confirmed by the mutual obligation of a solemn oath; and as they advanced to meet the enemy, the rude songs, which celebrated the glory of their forefathers, were mingled with their fierce and discordant outcries; and opposed to the artificial harmony of

^a *Quædam ad incendium inflant.* I have used the plural sense of *signa* (signals or banners) — but I almost suspect, that it is only one of those trilled expressions, those false ornaments, that poetically disguise the truth of Annals.

the Roman shout. Some military skill was displayed by Eritigen to gain the advantage of a commanding eminence: but the bloody conflict, which began and ended with the light, was maintained, on either side, by the personal and obstinate efforts of strength, valour, and agility. The legions of Armenia supported their fame in arms, but they were oppressed by the irresistible weight of the hostile multitude: the left wing of the Romans was thrown into disorder, and the field was strewn with their mangled carcasses. This partial defeat was balanced, however, by partial success: and when the two armies, at a late hour of the evening, retreated to their respective camps, neither of them could claim the honours, or the effects of a decisive victory. The real loss was more severely felt by the Romans, in proportion to the smallness of their numbers: but the Goths were so deeply confounded and dismayed by this vigorous, and perhaps unexpected, resistance, that they remained seven days within the circle of their fortifications. Such funeral rites, as the circumstances of time and place would admit, were piously discharged to some officers of distinguished rank: but the indiscriminate vulgar was left unburied on the plain. Their flesh was greedily devoured by the birds of prey, who, in that age, enjoyed very frequent and delicious feasts: and several years afterwards the white and naked bones, which covered the wide extent of the fields, presented

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Union of
the Goths
with the
Huns,
A.D. 441.

to the eyes of Ammianus, a dreadful monument of the battle of Salices.*

The progress of the Goths had been checked by the doubtful event of that bloody day; and the imperial generals, whose army would have been consumed by the repetition of such a contest, embraced the more rational plan of destroying the barbarians, by the wants and pressure of their own multitudes. They prepared to confine the Visigoths in the narrow angle of land, between the Danube, the desert of Scythia, and the mountains of Haemus, till their strength and spirit should be insensibly wasted by the inevitable operation of famine. The design was prosecuted with some conduct and success: the barbarians had almost exhausted their own magazines, and the harvests of the country; and the diligence of Saturninus, the master-general of the cavalry, was employed to improve the strength, and to contract the extent, of the Roman fortifications. His labours were interrupted by the alarming intelligence, that new swarms of barbarians had passed the unguarded Danube, either to support the cause, or to imitate the example of Frithigern. The just apprehension, that he himself might be surrounded, and overwhelmed, by the arms of hostile and unknown nations,

* *Indignus bilis impio, effugio, molire, pinguet.* Ammian. xxi. l. 1. The historian might have chosen some phrase, either as a soldier, or as a philosopher. But his modesty has suppressed the reflections of his own life subsequent to the Franks, even of Constantine and Julian. We are ignorant of the time when he quitted the service and retired to Rome, where he appears to have composed his History of his Own Times.

compelled Saturninus to relinquish the siege of the Gothic camp: and the indignant Visigoths, breaking from their confinement, satisfied their hunger and revenge, by the repeated devastation of the fruitful country, which extends above three hundred miles from the banks of the Danube to the straits of the Hellespont.* The sagacious Frithigern had successfully appealed to the passions, as well as to the interest, of his barbarian allies; and the love of rapine, and the hatred of Rome, seconded, or even prevented, the eloquence of his ambassadors. He cemented a strict and useful alliance with the great body of his countrymen, who obeyed Athieus and Saphrax as the guardians of their infant king: the long animosity of rival tribes was suspended by the sense of their common interest; the independent part of the nation was associated under one standard; and the chiefs of the Ostrogoths appear to have yielded to the superior genius of the general of the Visigoths. He obtained the formidable aid of the Taifalæ, whose military renown was disgraced and polluted by the public infamy of their domestic manners. Every youth, on his entrance into the world, was united by the ties of honorable friendship, and brutal love, to some warrior of the tribe; nor could he hope to be released from this unnatural connection, till he had approved his manhood, by slaying, in single combat, a huge bear, or a wild bear of the fo-

* *Annals*, lxxv. 8.

of the Alemanni, and of the tribe of the Lentienses, who dwelt beyond the lake of Constance. Some domestic business obliged him to request a leave of absence. In a short visit to his family and friends, he was exposed to their curious inquiries; and the vanity of the haughty soldier tempted him to display his intimate acquaintance with the secrets of the state, and the designs of his master. The intelligence, that Germanicus was preparing to lead the military force of Gaul, and of the West, to the assistance of his uncle Valens, pointed out to the restless spirit of the Alemanni, the moment, and the mode, of a successful invasion. The enterprise of some light detachments, who, in the month of February, passed the Rhine upon the ice, was the prelude of a more important war. The boldest hopes of rapine, perhaps of conquest, outweighed the considerations of timid prudence, or national faith. Every forest, and every village, poured forth a band of hardy adventurers; and the great army of the Alemanni, which, on their approach, was estimated at forty thousand men by the fears of the people, was afterwards magnified to the number of seventy thousand, by the vain and venalious flattery of the imperial court. The legions, which had been ordered to march into Pannonia, were immediately recalled, or detained, for the defence of Gaul; the military command was divided between Naniens and Mellebauder; and the youthful emperor, though he respected the long experience and sober wisdom of the for-

CHAP.
XXV.
CONTINUED

ner, was much more inclined to admire, and to follow, the martial ardour of his colleague; who was allowed to write the invulnerable characters of valour of the domestics, and of king of the Franks. His rival Priamus, king of the Alemanni, was guided, or rather compelled, by the same headstrong valour; and as their troops were animated by the spirit of their leaders, they met, they saw, they encountered, each other, near the town of Argentaria, or Colmar, in the plains of Alsace. The glory of the day was justly ascribed to the missile weapons, and well-practised evolutions, of the Roman soldiers: the Alemanni, who long maintained their ground, were slaughtered with unrelenting fury: five thousand only of the barbarians escaped to the woods and mountains: and the glorious death of their king on the field of battle, saved him from the reproaches of the people, who were always disposed to accuse the justice, or policy, of an unsuccessful war. After this signal victory, which secured the peace of Gaul, and asserted the honour of the Roman arms, the emperor Gratian appeared to proceed without delay on his eastern expedition; but as he approached the confines of the Alemanni, he suddenly inclined to the left, surprised them by his unexpected passage of the Rhine, and boldly advanced into the heart of their country.

* The *Life of Justin, Augustus, of Byzantium*, is extremely good by M. d'Anville (*Œuvres de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tome 20, p. 281, &c.*) It is very true that he is a little too much of a partisan, and a little too much of a historian, but he is a very good historian, and a very good historian.

The barbarians opposed to his progress the obstacles of nature and of courage; and still continued to retreat from one hill to another, till they were satisfied, by repeated trials, of the power and perseverance of their enemies. Their submission was accepted, as a proof, not indeed of their sincere repentance, but of their actual distress; and a select number of their brave and robust youth was exacted from the faithless nation, as the most substantial pledge of their future moderation. The subjects of the empire, who had so often experienced that the Alemanni could neither be subdued by arms, nor restrained by treaties, might not promise themselves any solid or lasting tranquillity: but they discovered, in the virtues of their young sovereign, the prospect of a long and auspicious reign. When the legions climbed the mountains, and scaled the fortifications, of the barbarians, the valour of Gratian was distinguished in the foremost ranks; and the gall and variegated attire of his guards was pierced and shattered by the blows, which they had received in their constant attachment to the person of their sovereign. At the age of nineteen, the son of Valentinian seemed to possess the talents of peace and war: and his personal success against the Alemanni was interpreted as a sure presage of his Gothic triumphs.*

* The fact and important consequence of Gratian's success, for the first time, against the Alemanni, is taken from the Epitome de Vales. But this is not in Epitome, and the History of Gratian is not in the Epitome, and the History of Gratian is not in the Epitome, and the History of Gratian is not in the Epitome.

CHAP.
XXVI.

Valens
marches
against the
Goths,
A. D. 368.
May 30.—
June 15.

While Gratian deserved and enjoyed the applause of his subjects, the emperor Valens, who at length had removed his court and army from Antioch, was received by the people of Constantinople as the author of the public calamity. Before he had repared himself ten days in the capital, he was urged, by the licentious clamours of the Hippodrome, to march against the barbarians, whom he had invited into his dominions; and the citizens, who were always brave at a distance from any real danger, declared, with confidence, that, if they were supplied with arms, they alone would undertake to deliver the province from the ravages of an insulting foe.^a The vain reproaches of an ignorant multitude hastened the downfall of the Roman empire; they provoked the desperate rashness of Valens, who did not end, either in his reputation, or in his mind, any advisers to support with firmness the public counsels. He was soon persuaded, by the successful achievements of his lieutenants, to despise the power of the Goths, who, by the diligence of Frigern, were now collected in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople. The march of the Tuthiæ had been intercepted by the valiant Frigern; the king of those licentious barbarians was slain in battle; and the suppliant captives were sent into distant exile to cultivate the lands of Italy, which were assigned for their settlement, in the vacant territories of Modena and

^a *Modicum proceritas illius, nullumque propitius iremque potens* (Juvenal. Sat. 11. *Fortuna* is in. 2. 28) supplies the date and some circumstances.

Parma: The exploits of Sebastian,* who was recently engaged in the service of Valens, and promoted to the rank of master-general of the infantry, were still more honourable to himself, and useful to the republic. He obtained the permission of selecting three hundred soldiers from each of the legions; and this separate detachment soon acquired the spirit of discipline, and the exercise of arms, which were almost forgotten under the reign of Valens. By the vigour and conduct of Sebastian, a large body of the Goths was surprised in their camp; and the immense spoil, which was recovered from their hands, filled the city of Hauriampol, and the adjacent plain. The splendid narratives, which the general transmitted of his own exploits, alarmed the imperial court by the appearance of superior merit; and though he cautiously insisted on the difficulties of the Gothic war, his valour was prised, his advice was rejected; and Valens, who listened with pride and pleasure to the flattering suggestions of the eunuchs of the palace, was impatient to seize the glory of an easy and

* *Chrysomela marginata* Mullins. 2-grouped, in *Peromyscus leucopus* agilis, some extensive *peromyscoides*. *Ammodendron*, etc. 1. These signs are distinct, about the young after the entry of the Tachinid, appear in a very distinct form. See *Ammodendron*, *Chrysomelid* signs in *Ammodendron*, etc. 1. *Chrysomelid*, etc. 1.

¹ *Minnesota*, vol. 21, Boston, U.S., p. 774-784. The same organization on the boundary between Nebraska and Wisconsin, at a few times, the important kinds of *Hydrobia*. According to the fundamental system, the late definition, the genus of *Hydrobia* is dropped. (Illinois, Hist. and Geography, Aug. v, p. 121). The problem and ignorance undoubtedly caused him a very considerable loss of credit.

CHAP. assured conquest. His army was strengthened
 CXXVI. by a numerous reinforcement of veterans; and his march from Constantinople to Hadrianople was conducted with so much military skill, that he prevented the activity of the barbarians, who designed to occupy the intermediate defiles, and to intercept either the troops themselves, or their convoys of provisions. The camp of Valens, which he pitched under the walls of Hadrianople, was fortified according to the practice of the Romans, with a ditch and ramparts; and a most important council was summoned, to decide the fate of the emperor and of the empire. The party of reason and of delay was strenuously maintained by Victor, who had corrected, by the lessons of experience, the native fierceness of the Sarmatian character; while Sebastian, with the flexible and obsequious eloquence of a courtier, represented every precaution, and every measure, that implied a doubt of immediate victory, as unworthy of the courage and majesty of their invincible monarch. The ruin of Valens was precipitated by the deceitful arts of Priligern, and the prudent admonitions of the emperor of the West. The advantages of negotiating in the midst of war, were perfectly understood by the general of the barbarians; and a Christian confessor was despatched, as the holy minister of peace, to prostrate, and to perplex, the councils of the enemy. The misfortunes, as well as the provocations, of the Gothic nation, were forcibly and truly described by their ambassador; who

protested, in the name of Prilgeria, that he was
 still disposed to lay down his arms, or to employ
 them only in the defence of the empire: if he
 could secure, for his wandering countrymen, a
 tranquil settlement on the waste lands of Thrace,
 and a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle.
 But he added, in a whisper of confidential friend-
 ship, that the exasperated barbarians were averse
 to these reasonable conditions: and that Pril-
 geria was doubtful whether he could accomplish
 the conclusion of the treaty, unless he found him-
 self supported by the presence, and terrors, of an
 imperial army. About the same time, Count
 Hlesamer returned from the West, to announce
 the defeat and submission of the Alamanii, to
 inform Valens, that his nephew advanced by
 rapid marches at the head of the veteran and
 victorious legions of Gaul, had to request, in
 the name of Gratian and of the republic, that
 every dangerous and decisive measure might be
 suspended, till the junction of the two emperors
 should insure the success of the Gothic war: that
 the feeble sovereignty of the East was actuated only
 by the fatal illusions of pride and jealousy. He
 declined the importunate advice: he rejected
 the humiliating aid: he secretly compared the
 ignominious, or at least the inglorious, period of
 his own reign, with the time of a beardless youth;
 and Valens rushed into the field, to erect his ima-
 ginary trophy, before the diligence of his col-
 league could usurp any share of the triumphs of
 the day.

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XXVI.

Battle of
Hadrianopolis.
A. D. 378.
Aug. 3.

On the ninth of August, a day which has deserved to be marked among the most inauspicious of the Roman calendar,* the emperor Valens, leaving, under a strong guard, his baggage and military treasure, marched from Hadrianople to attack the Goths, who were encamped about twelve miles from the city.† By some mistake of the orders, or some ignorance of the ground, the right wing, or column of cavalry, arrived in sight of the enemy, whilst the left was still at a considerable distance: the soldiers were compelled, in the sultry heat of summer, to precipitate their pace: and the line of battle was formed with tedious confusion, and irregular delay. The Gothic cavalry had been detached to forage in the adjacent country: and Frithigern still continued to practise his customary arts. He despatched messengers of peace, made proposals, required hostages, and wasted the hours, till the Romans, exposed without shelter to the burning rays of the sun, were exhausted by thirst, hunger, and intolerable fatigue. The emperor was persuaded to send an ambassador to the Gothic camp: the zeal of Richomer, who alone had courage to accept the dangerous commission,

* *Annals* (crab. 12. 19) almost alone describe the confused and useless march, &c. &c. prompted by the first battle of Hadrianople. We might censure the story of his death, the disorder and panic of his survivors; but we must not take notice of this important incident, and especially be obliged by our regret for such an irreparable loss.

* The difference of the right wing of Amalarius, with the rest of the army, was not mentioned above, as it was not a decisive point, without which the Goths could not have been defeated.

was applauded: and the count of the domestics, adorned with the splendid ensigns of his dignity, had proceeded some way in the space between the two armies, when he was suddenly recalled by the alarm of battle. The hasty and imprudent attack was made by Balaricus the Iberian, who commanded a body of archers and targeteers; and as they advanced with rashness, they retreated with loss and disgrace. In the same moment, the flying squadrons of Alathens and Saphrax, whose return was anxiously expected by the general of the Goths, descended like a whirlwind from the hills, swept across the plain, and added new terrors to the tumultuous, but irresistible, charge of the barbarian host. The event of the battle of Hadrianople, so fatal to Valens and to the empire, may be described in a few words: the Roman cavalry fled; the infantry was almost annihilated, surrounded, and cut in pieces. The most skillful evolutions, the firmest courage, are scarcely sufficient to extricate a body of foot, encompassed on an open plain, by superior numbers of horse: but the troops of Valens, oppressed by the weight of the enemy and their own fears, were crowded into a narrow space, where it was impossible for them to extend their ranks, or even to use, with effect, their swords and javelins. In the midst of tumult, of slaughter, and of dismay, the emperor, deserted by his guards, and wounded, as it was supposed, with an arrow, sought protection among the *Lancarii* and the *Martarii*, who still maintained their

The defeat
of the Ro-
mans.

CHAP.
XXVI.
continued.

Death of
the emperor
Valens.

ground with some appearance of order and firmness. His faithful generals, Trajan and Victor, who perceived his danger, loudly exclaimed, that all was lost, unless the person of the emperor could be saved. Some troops, animated by their exhortation, advanced to his relief: they found only a bloody spot, covered with a heap of broken arms and mangled bodies, without being able to discover their unfortunate prince, either among the living, or the dead. Their search could not indeed be successful, if there is any truth in the circumstances with which some historians have related the death of the emperor. By the care of his attendants, Valens was removed from the field of battle to a neighbouring cottage, where they attempted to dress his wound, and to provide for his future safety: But this humble retreat was instantly surrounded by the enemy: they tried to force the door: they were provided by a discharge of arrows from the roof, till at length, impatient of delay, they set fire to a pile of dry faggots, and consumed the cottage with the Roman emperor and his train. Valens perished in the flames: and a youth, who dropt from the shadow, alone escaped, to attest the melancholy tale, and to inform the Goths of the inestimable prize which they had lost by their own rashness. A great number of brave and distinguished officers perished in the battle of Tholunisque, which equalled, in the actual loss, and far surpassed, in the fatal consequences, the misfortune which Rome had formerly sustained in the

fields of Cannæ." Two master-generals of the cavalry and infantry, two great officers of the palace, and thirty-five tribunes, were found among the slain; and the death of Sebastian might satisfy the world, that he was the victim, as well as the author, of the public calamity. Above two-thirds of the Roman army were destroyed: and the darkness of the night was rendered a very favourable circumstance; as it served to conceal the flight of the multitude, and to protect the more orderly retreat of Victor and Nichomæ, who alone, amidst the general consternation, maintained the advantage of calm courage, and regular discipline."

CHART,
XXVI

While the impressions of grief and terror were still recent in the minds of men, the most celebrated rhetorician of the age composed the funeral oration of a vanquished army, and of an unpopular prince, whose throne was already occupied by a stranger. "There are not wanting," says the candid La Fontaine, "those who arraign

Excluded
systems are
Vulcan and
the other.

* See also, another, recent Commission report on the same location for further data. Amount, \$11.25. According to the report there are more than 500 trees and 2,000 feet, except from the field at least 10,000 were made previously and the number of the trees counted is 5,500 trees, and 2,000 feet. (P. 1/2 to 1/2 p. 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 9

1. The king quail cannot stand up to the Persian (imm. 1, p. 78, and in China, p. 149); Noddy, the Fulmar, the Gull, the etc. (p. 73, p. 124); Jaegers, G. 37; Loons, G. 38; Boobies, G. 39, p. 126; Albatross, G. 40, p. 129; Terns, the Eucalypt. New (1861) several evidence, C. 41; and several others—also, it is said and unaccounted.

CRAT. " the profusion of the emperor, or who impute
 XXVI. " the public misfortune to the want of courage
 " and discipline in the troops. For my own part,
 " I reverence the memory of their former ex-
 " ploits: I reverence the glorious death, which
 " they bravely received, standing, and fighting
 " in their ranks; I reverence the field of battle,
 " stained with their blood, and the blood of the
 " barbarians. Those honourable marks have
 " been already washed away by the rains: but
 " the lofty monuments of their bones, the bones
 " of generals, of centurions, and of valiant war-
 " riors, claim a longer period of duration. The
 " king himself fought and fell in the foremost
 " ranks of the battle. His attendants presented
 " him with the finest horses of the imperial
 " stable, that would soon have carried him be-
 " yond the pursuit of the enemy. They vainly
 " pressed him to reserve his important life for the
 " future service of the republic. He still declar-
 " ed that he was unworthy to survive so many
 " of the bravest and most faithful of his subjects:
 " and the monarch was nobly buried under a
 " mountain of the slain. Let none, therefore,
 " presume to ascribe the victory of the barba-
 " rians to the fear, the weakness, or the impro-
 " vidence of the Roman troops. The chiefs and
 " the soldiers were animated by the spirit of
 " their ancestors, whom they equalled in dis-
 " cipline, and the arts of war. Their generous
 " emulation was supported by the love of glory,
 " which prompted them to contend at the same

"time with heat and thirst, with fire and the sword; and cheerfully to embrace an honorable death, as their refuge against flight and infamy. The indignation of the gods has been the only cause of the success of our enemies." The truth of history may disclaim some parts of this panegyric, which cannot strictly be reconciled with the character of Valens, or the circumstances of the battle; but the truest commendation is due to the eloquence, and still more to the generosity, of the sophist of Antioch.*

The pride of the Goths was elated by this memorable victory; but their avarice was disappointed by the mortifying discovery, that the richest part of the imperial spoil had been within the walls of Hadrianople. They hastened to possess the reward of their valour; but they were encountered by the remains of a vanquished army, with an intrepid resolution, which was the effect of their despair, and the only hope of their safety. The walls of the city, and the ramparts of the adjacent camp, were lined with military engines, that threw stones of an enormous weight; and astonished the ignorant barbarians by the noise, and velocity, still more than by the real effects, of the discharges. The soldiers, the militia, the provincials, the domestics of the palace, were united in the danger, and in the defence: the ferocious assault of the Goths was repulsed; their secret arts of treachery and treason were disco-

The Goths
brought
back to
camp.

* *Libanius de consensu Imperii*. *Yves, v. 2. in Joannem, libell. 1. c. 10. p. 117.*

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receded, and, after an obstinate conflict of many hours, they retired to their tents; convinced, by experience, that it would be far more advisable to observe the treaty, which their sagacious leader had tacitly stipulated with the fortifications of great and populous cities. After the hasty and impolitic massacre of three hundred deserters, an act of justice extremely useful to the discipline of the Roman armies, the Goths indignantly raised the siege of Hadrianople. The scene of war and tumult was instantly converted into a silent solitude: the multitude suddenly disappeared; the secret paths of the woods and mountains were marked with the footsteps of the trembling fugitives, who sought a refuge in the distant cities of Illyricum and Macedonia: and the faithful officers of the household, and the treasury, cautiously proceeded in search of the emperor, of whose death they were still ignorant. The tale of the Gothic inundation rolled from the walls of Hadrianople to the suburbs of Constantinople. The barbarians were surprised with the splendid appearance of the capital of the East, the height and extent of the walls, the myriads of wealthy and affrighted citizens who crowded the ramparts, and the various prospect of the sea and land. While they gazed with hopeless desire on the inaccessible beauties of Constantinople, a sally was made from one of the gates by a party of Sarmatians,* who had been fortunately engaged

* These last gained, or rather purchased, the friendship of the Goths, whose numerous troops were left on the borders of Phrygia.

to the soldier of Valens. The cavalry of Scythia was forced to yield to the admirable strength and spirit of the Arabian horses: their rulers were skilled in the evolutions of irregular war; and the northern barbarians were astonished, and dismayed, by the intemperate ferocity of the barbarians of the South. A Gothic soldier was slain by the dagger of an Arab; and the hairy, naked savage, applying his lips to the wound, expressed a brutal delight, while he sucked the blood of his vanquished enemy.* The army of the Goths, laden with the spoils of the wealthy suburbs, and the adjacent territory, slowly moved, from the Bosphorus, to the mountains which form the western boundary of Thrace. The important pass of Surus was betrayed by the fear, or the misconduct, of Maurus; and the barbarians, who no longer had any resistance to apprehend from the scattered and vanquished troops of the East, spread themselves over the face of a fertile and cultivated country, as far as the confines of Italy, and the Adriatic Sea.

and, of course, the Egyptian gods had been fully introduced among a people, converted, in a sense, to a monotheistic religion, (Hilsmann, *Die Ägypten*, pp. 172, 164, 166, 141). *Mon. Germ. Mus.*, vii, p. 106.

²Colony: gaster, inflexed; female gaster, pinnate; segments of gaster striate. *Stenus* spp. 24 and 25, cf. 26. The three other *Colony* species, a genus which may be described by this colony number and associated binary. The distribution of *Colony* ranges in the North portion of Theory 2, from as close to the Chukchi of Spitz. See *Colony's* *Handbook* for *Stenus*, pp. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

[illegible]

inflicted by the Goths and their barbarous allies, on his native country of Pontoon, and the wide extent of the provinces, from the walls of Constantinople to the foot of the Julian Alps; the rapes, the massacres, the conflagrations; and above all, the profanation of the churches, that were turned into stables, and the contemptuous treatment of the relics of holy martyrs. But the Saint is surely transported beyond the limits of nature and history, when he affirms,—“that, in
“ those desert countries, nothing was left except
“ the sky and the earth; that, after the destruc-
“ tion of the cities, and the extirpation of the
“ human race, the land was overgrown with
“ thick forests, and inextricable brambles; and
“ that the universal desolation, announced by the
“ prophet Zephaniah, was accomplished, in the
“ voracity of the beasts, the birds, and even of
“ the fish.” These complaints were pronounced about twenty years after the death of Valens; and the Illyrian provinces, which were constantly exposed to the invasion and passage of the barbarians, still continued, after a calamitous period of ten centuries, to supply new materials for rapine and destruction. Could it even be supposed, that a large tract of country had been left without cultivation and without inhabitants, the consequences might not have been so fatal to the inferior productions of animated nature. The useful and feeble animals, which are nourished by the hand of man, might suffer and perish, if they were deprived of his protection; but the beasts

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of the forest, his enemies, or his victims, would multiply in the free and undisturbed possession of their solitary domain. The various tribes that people the air, or the waters, are still less connected with the fate of the human species: and it is highly probable, that the fish of the Danube would have felt more terror and distress, from the approach of a voracious pike, than from the hostile incursion of a Gothic army.

Maxims
of the Go-
thic youth
in 540.
S. 15, 279.

Whatever may have been the just measure of the calamities of Europe, there was reason to fear that the same calamities would soon extend to the peaceful countries of Asia. The sons of the Goths had been judiciously distributed through the cities of the East: and the arts of education were employed to polish and subdue the native fierceness of their temper. In the space of about twelve years, their numbers had continually increased: and the children, who, in the first emigration, were sent over the Hellespont, had attained, with rapid growth, the strength and spirit of perfect manhood.* It was impossible to conceal from their knowledge the events of the Gothic war: and, as those daring youths had not stilled the language of dissimulation, they betrayed their wish, their desire, perhaps their intention, to emulate the glorious example of their fathers. The danger of the times seemed to justify the jealous suspicions of the provincials:

* *Europæusque Imperii Legati*, p. 203, probably supposes a regular annual growth of the young Goths: that he may introduce Columella's verbal error, who speaks from the danger's tooth, &c. Such was the usual language of the Goths.

and these suspicions were admitted as unquestionable evidence, that the Goths of Asia had formed a secret and dangerous conspiracy against the public safety. The death of Valens had left the East without a sovereign; and Julius, who filled the important station of master-general of the troops, with a high reputation of diligence and ability, thought it his duty to consult the senate of Constantinople; which he considered, during the vacancy of the throne, as the representative council of the nation. As soon as he had obtained the discretionary power of acting as he should judge most expedient for the good of the republic, he assembled the principal officers; and privately concerted effectual measures for the execution of his bloody design. An order was immediately promulgated, that, on a stated day, the Gothic youth should assemble in the capital cities of their respective provinces; and as a report was industriously circulated, that they were summoned to receive a liberal gift of lands and money, the pleasing hope allayed the fury of their resentment, and perhaps suspended the motions of the conspiracy. On the appointed day, the unarmed crowd of the Gothic youth was carefully collected in the square, or Forum: the streets and avenues were occupied by the Roman troops; and the roofs of the houses were covered with archers and slingers. At the same hour, in all the cities of the East, the signal was given of indiscriminate slaughter; and the provinces of Asia were delivered, by the cruel prudence of

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THE END OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Julius, from a domestic enemy, who, in a few months, might have carried fire and sword from the Hellespont to the Euphrates! The urgent consideration of the public safety may undoubtedly authorize the violation of every positive law. How far that, or any other consideration, may operate, to dissolve the natural obligations of humanity and justice, is a doctrine of which I still desire to remain ignorant.

The same
year, Gen-
eral Arminius
Thomson
died with
the plague
of the East,
A. D. 329,
Jan. 18.

The emperor Gratian was far advanced on his march towards the plains of Hadrumople, when he was informed, at first by the confused voice of rumor, and afterwards by the more accurate reports of Victor and Richomer, that his impatient colleague had been slain in battle, and that two-thirds of the Roman army were exterminated by the sword of the scourges Goths. Whatever resentment the rash and jealous vanity of his uncle might deserve, the resentment of a generous mind is easily subdued by the softer emotions of grief and compassion; and even the sense of pity was soon lost in the serious and alarming consideration of the state of the republic. Gratian was too late to assist, he was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague; and the valiant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a sinking world. A formidable tempest of the barbarians of Germany seemed ready to burst

Adrianus, in his speech against the emperor, alleges, first, of soldiers, which was false; for only 10,000, (not 1,000,000) were left; and secondly, that the emperor was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague; and the valiant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a sinking world. A formidable tempest of the barbarians of Germany seemed ready to burst

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near the prisoners of Gaul; and the mind of Gratian was oppressed and distracted by the administration of the Western empire. In this important crisis, the government of the East, and the conduct of the Gothic war, required the undivided attention of a hero and a statesman. A subject invested with such ample command would not long have preserved his fidelity to a distant benefactor; and the imperial council emulated the wise and manly resolution, of conferring no obligation, rather than of yielding to an insult. It was the wish of Gratian to bestow the purple as the reward of virtue; but, at the age of nineteen, it is not easy for a prince, educated in the supreme rank, to understand the true characters of his ministers and generals. He attempted to weigh, with an impartial hand, their various merits and defects; and, whilst he checked the rash confidence of adulation, he distrusted the cautious wisdom, which despaired of the republic. As each moment of delay diminished something of the power and resources of the future sovereign of the East, the situation of the times would not allow a tedious debate. The choice of Gratian was soon declared in favour of an exile, whose father, only three years before, had suffered, under the sanction of his authority, an unjust and ignominious death. The great Theodosius, a name celebrated in history, and dear to the catholic church,* was nominated to

* A life of Theodosius the Great was composed in the first century, (Paris 1670, in 8vo 1690, in 12mo), by Julius Valerius

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to the imperial court, which had gradually retreated from the confines of Thrace to the more secure station of Sirmium. Five months after the death of Valens, the emperor Gratian produced before the assembled troops, *his* colleague, and *their* master: who, after a modest, perhaps a sincere, resistance, was compelled to accept, amidst the general acclamations, the diadem, the purple, and the equal title of Augustus.* The provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were resigned to the administration of the new emperor; but, as he was specially intrusted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian prefecture was dismembered; and the two great dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the eastern empire.†

Birth and
character
of Theodo-
sius.

The same province, and, perhaps, the same city,‡ which had given to the throne the virtues

of the young Delphin with sabbatic rest. The author, Flechier afterwards bishop of Nîmes, was a celebrated preacher; and his history is adorned, or tainted, with poetical-flourishes: but he takes his learning from Baronius, and his penmanship from St. Augustine and St. Augustine.

* The birth, character, and elevation of Theodosius, are tracked in Pausanias, *de Pausanias*, Vol. III. 10, 11, 12; Theophrastus, *Hist.*, lib. 1, p. 142; Eusebius, *G. vi.*, p. 431; Ammianus, *de Claudi. Jul.*, v. 23; Orosius, *G. vi.*, c. 34; Socrates, *G. vi.*, c. 21; Sozomenus, *lib. v.*, c. 21; Theodoret, *G. v.*, c. 3; Palladius, *G. vi.*, c. 17, with Godefroy, p. 507; the Epistles of Victor, and the Chronicle of Prosper, Idacius, and Marcellinus, in the *Thesaurus Temporum* of Scaliger.

† Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 116, &c.

‡ *Arles*, included by Scipio Africanus for his wounded veterans of Italy. The ruins still appear, about a league above Bezons, but on the opposite bank of the river. See the *Itinerary* of Nodding, a short, though valuable, treatise, v. 228, p. 64-67.

of Trajan, and the talents of Hadrian, was the original seat of another family of Spaniards, who, in a less fortunate age, possessed, near fourscore years, the declining empire of Rome. They emerged from the obscurity of municipal honours by the active spirit of the elder Theodosius, a general, whose exploits in Britain and Africa have formed one of the most splendid parts of the annals of Valentianus. The son of that general, who likewise bore the name of Theodosius, was educated by sagacious preceptors, in the liberal studies of youth; but he was instructed in the art of war by the tender care and severe discipline of his father. Under the standard of such a leader, young Theodosius sought glory and knowledge, in the most distant scenes of military action; inured his constitution to the difference of seasons and climates; distinguished his valour by sea and land; and observed the various warfare of the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors. His own merit, and the recommendation of the conqueror of Africa, soon raised him to a separate command; and, in the station of duke of Macedonia, he vanquished an army of

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* Ingens was likewise slain. See *Epitome*, lib. 11. p. 120. in describing the royal pedigree, which continued a series till the extinction of Theodosius. Even after that event, the claims of Flavian overrode the real claims of Theodosius, Theod. and Claudius, who joined the family of Theodosius with the name of Trajan and Hadrian.

† Flavianus accompanied, and subsequently replaced, the youth of Theodosius, in the military education of Maximian, Maximus, and the infant Maximian; who, like him, fell victim to their ambition. *Id.* 84.

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Sarmatians; saved the province; deserved the love of the soldiers; and provoked the envy of the court.* His rising fortunes were soon blasted by the disgrace and execution of his illustrious father; and Theodosius obtained, as a favour, the permission of retiring to a private life, in his native province of Spain. He displayed a firm and temperate character in the ease with which he adapted himself to this new situation. His time was almost equally divided between the town and country: the spirit, which had regulated his public conduct, was shown in the active and affectionate performance of every social duty; and the diligence of the soldier was profitably converted to the improvement of his ample patrimony,† which lay between Valladolid and Segovia, in the midst of a fruitful district, still famous for a most exquisite breed of sheep.‡ From the innocent, but humble, labours of his farm Theodosius was transported, in less than four months, to the throne of the eastern empire: and the whole period of the history of the world will not perhaps afford a

* Jornandes (l. vi.) mentions this victory of Theodosius under the name of *prælium contra gentes barbaras*; whence some persons have conjectured. The name first introduced by Jornandes and Zosimus; but Theodoret (l. v. c. 25.) who writes some centuries afterwards, strangely applies it to the time of the intervention.

† *Palatium et Prætorium*. Voss. lib. vi. pictures the wealth and splendour in which at Constantinople; the one was the effect of choice, the other of power.

‡ H. P. Kiepert (Geograph. Anzeiger, June 1. p. 227) has traced the situation of *Castro* in Spain to the old province of Galicia, where *Autones* and *Elates* have placed the birth of paternity of Theodosius.

similar example, of an elevation, at the same time, so pure, and so laudable. The princes who peaceably inherit the sceptre of their fathers, claim and enjoy a legal right; the more secure, as it is absolutely distinct from the merits of their persons and characters. The subjects, who, in a monarchy, or a popular estate, acquire the possession of supreme power, may have raised themselves, by the superiority either of genius or virtue, above the heads of their equals: but their virtue is seldom exempt from ambition; and the cause of the successful candidate is frequently stained by the guilt of conspiracy, or civil war. — Even in those governments which allow the reigning monarch to declare a colleague, or a successor, his partial choice, which may be influenced by the blindest passions, is often directed to an unworthy object. But the most suspicious malignity cannot ascribe to Theodosius, in his obscure solitude of Cancha, the arts, the desires, or even the hopes, of an ambitious statesman; and the name of the exile would long since have been forgotten, if his genuine and distinguished virtues had not left a deep impression in the imperial court. During the season of prosperity he had been neglected; but, in the public distress, his superior merit was universally felt and acknowledged. What confidence must have been reposed in his integrity, since Gratian could trust, that a pious son would forgive, for the sake of the republic, the murder of his father? What expectations must have been formed of his abilities, to encourage the hope, that a single man could save, and re-

of the reign of Theodosius, we are reduced to illustrate the partial narrative of Zosimus, by the obscure hints of fragments and chronicles, by the figurative style of poetry or panegyric, and by the precarious assistance of the ecclesiastical writers, who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to despise the profane virtues of sincerity and moderation. Conscious of these disadvantages, which will continue to involve a considerable portion of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I shall proceed with doubtful and timorous steps. Yet I may boldly pronounce, that the battle of Hadrianople was never revenged by any signal or decisive victory of Theodosius over the barbarians; and the expressive silence of his venal orators may be confirmed by the observation of the condition and circumstances of the times. The fabric of a mighty state, which has been reared by the labours of successive ages, could not be overturned by the misfortune of a single day, if the fatal power of the imagination did not exaggerate the real measure of the calamity. The loss of forty thousand Romans, who fell in the plains of Hadrianople, might have been soon recruited in the populous provinces of the East, which contained so many millions of inhabitants. The courage of a soldier is found to be the cheapest, and most common, quality of human nature: and sufficient skill to encounter an undisciplined foe, might have been speedily taught by the care of the surviving centurions. If the barbarians were mounted on the horses,

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and equipped with the armour, of their vanquished enemies, the numerous studs of Cappadocia and Spain would have supplied new squadrons of cavalry; the thirty-four arsenals of the empire were plentifully stored with magazines of offensive and defensive arms; and the wealth of Asia might still have yielded an ample fund for the expenses of the war. But the effects which were produced by the battle of Hadrianople on the minds of the barbarians, and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a single day. A Gothic chief was heard to declare, with insolent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued with slaughter; but that he was astonished how a people who fled before him like a flock of sheep, could still presume to dispute the possession of their treasures and provinces.^a The same terrors, which the name of the Huns had spread among the Gothic tribes, were inspired, by the formidable name of the Goths, among the subjects and soldiers of the Roman empire.^b If Theodosius, hastily collecting his scattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, his army would have been vanquished by their own fears; and his rashness could not have been excused by the chance of

^a Orosius, *lib. iv. c. 34*, edit. Montfaucon. I have followed, and checked, this passage) but I should have, without the aid of Pline, (Hist. Nat. *lib. viii. c. 3*, p. 135, last) observed its language of numbers, as a strong proof of moral and actual extermination, affirmed, by the number of tribes) to be wrong.

^b *Epitome de Europe Legation*, p. 71.

success. But the great Theodosius, an epithet which he honourably deserved on this momentous occasion, comforted himself as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his head-quarters at Thessalonica, the capital of the Macedonian diocese; from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from the gates of Constantinople to the shores of the Adriatic. The fortifications and garrisons of the cities were strengthened; and the troops, among whom a sense of order and discipline was revived, were insensibly emboldened by the confidence of their own safety. From these secure stations, they were encouraged to make frequent sallies on the barbarians, who infested the adjacent country; and, as they were seldom allowed to engage without some decided superiority, either of ground or of numbers, their enterprises were, for the most part, successful; and they were soon convinced, by their own experience, of the possibility of vanquishing their voracious enemies. The detachments of these separate garrisons were gradually united into small armies; the same cautious measures were pursued, according to an extensive and well-concerted plan of operations: the efforts of each day added strength and spirit to the Roman arms; and the arduous diligence of the emperor, who circulated the most favourable reports of the success of the war,

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¹ See *Gregory's History of the Empire*. See also *Chronicon* before mentioned, p. 440.

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contributed to subdue the pride of the barbarians, and to animate the hopes and courage of his subjects. If, instead of this faint and imperfect outline, we could accurately represent the counsels and actions of Theodosius, in four successive campaigns, there is reason to believe, that his consummate skill would deserve the applause of every military reader. The republic had formerly been saved by the delays of Fabius; and, while the splendid trophies of Scipio, in the field of Zama, attract the eyes of posterity, the camps and marches of the dictator among the hills of Campania, may claim a juster proportion of the solid and independent fame, which the general is not compelled to share, either with fortune or with his troops. Such was likewise the merit of Theodosius; and the infirmities of his body, which must unseasonably languished under a long and dangerous disease, could not oppress the vigour of his mind, or divert his attention from the public service.¹

Theodosius, defeat, and submission, of the Goths, A. D. 378.—382.

The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces² was the work of prudence, rather than of valour; the prudence of Theodosius was su-

¹ More, without issue, on the illness, and long repose, of Theodosius, see Theodosius; *Epistola*, to Gratian, his glory; *Persecutio*, in favour of the Goths; and the undisciplined wisdom, in punishing the Bagaudæ.

² Compare Theodosius (*Oratio* lxx, p. 381) with Constantine (l. vi, p. 322), Julianus (l. lxxvi, p. 346), and the precise Commentary of M. de Guizot, *État des Peuples*, liv. xvi, p. 377-378. The *Chronique* of Marcellin and Marcellinus coincide, in general terms, in saying, *periculis, magna sublevari pericula*. The two accounts are not exactly separated.

entled by fortices; and the emperor never failed to seize, and to improve, every favourable circumstance. As long as the superior genius of Frigigeri preserved the union, and directed the motions, of the barbarians, their power was not inadequate to the conquest of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predecessor and master of the renowned Alaric, relieved an impatient multitude from the intolerable yoke of discipline and discretion. The barbarians, who had been restrained by his authority, abandoned themselves to the dictates of their passions; and their passions were seldom uniform or consistent. An army of conquerors was broken into many disorderly bands of savage robbers; and their blind and irregular fury was not less pernicious to themselves, than to their enemies. Their mischievous disposition was shewn in the destruction of every object, which they wanted strength to remove, or taste to enjoy; and they often continued, with imprudent rage, the havoc, of the granaries, which soon afterwards became necessary for their own subsistence. A spirit of discord arose among the independent tribes and nations, which had been united only by the bonds of a loose and voluntary alliance. The troops of the Huns and the Alani would naturally misbrand the flight of the Goths: who were not disposed to use with moderation the advantages of their Getae; the ancient jealousy of the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths could not long be suspended; and the mighty chiefs still remembered

king, a Gothic judge, whose birth they respected, and whose abilities they had frequently experienced. But age had chilled the daring spirit of Athanaric; and, instead of leading his people to the field of battle and victory, he wisely listened to the fair proposal of an honourable and advantageous treaty. Theodosius, who was acquainted with the merit and power of his new ally, condescended to meet him at the distance of several miles from Constantinople; and entertained him in the imperial city, with the confidence of a friend, and the magnificence of a monarch. "The barbarian prince observed, " with curious attention, the variety of objects " which attracted his notice, and at last broke " out into a sincere and passionate exclamation of " wonder. I now behold (said he) what I never " could believe, the glories of this stupendous " capital! and as he cast his eyes around, he " viewed, and he admired, the commanding situation of the city, the strength and beauty of " the walls and public edifices, the capacious " harbour, crowded with innumerable vessels, " the perpetual concourse of distant nations, and " the arms and discipline of the troops. Indeed, " (continued Athanaric), the emperor of the Romans is a god upon earth; and the presumptuous man, who dares to lift his hand against " him, is guilty of his own blood." The Go-

* The reader will not be displeased to see the original words of Jordanes, or the author whom he transcribed. *Regem orbem impensius notis; miraturque, En, Spectat, cumque quod sæpe incredulus*

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this king did not long enjoy this splendid and honourable reception; and, as temperance was not the virtue of his nation, it may justly be suspected, that his mortal disease was contracted amidst the pleasures of the imperial banquets. But the policy of Theodosius derived more solid benefit from the death, than he could have expected from the most faithful services, of his ally. The funeral of Athanaric was performed with solemn rites in the capital of the East; a stately monument was erected to his memory; and his whole army, won by the liberal courtesy, and decent grief, of Theodosius, enlisted under the standard of the Roman empire.* The submission of so great a body of the Visigoths was productive of the most salutary consequences; and the mixed influence of force, of reason, and of corruption, became every day more powerful, and more extensive. Each independent chieftain hastened to obtain a separate treaty, from the apprehension that an obdurate delay might expose him, alone and unprotected, to the revenge, or justice, of the conqueror. The general, or rather

*publicum, famam nihilque tanto ardua. Et tum illos equos vol-
vunt, tum ardua arces circumstantibus archibus, muricibus clava
prospiciunt, vibrant; populorum divitibus gestibus, spualibus
in uno a moderata portibus confertis modis, sic quoque nullam efflu-
entem aspiciunt. Deinde, inquit, non sicut datus reversus imperator,
et quoque advenit cum manu suavit, ipse aut sanguine erit
rebellis. Jornandes de. 12. c. 11, p. 450. proceeds to mention his death
and funeral.*

* Jornandes, c. xxviii, p. 453. Even Zosimus (l. iv, p. 146) is
compelled to approve the generosity of Theodosius, so honourable to
himself, and so beneficial to the public.

the final capitulation of the Goths, may be dated four years one month and twenty-five days after the defeat and death of the emperor Valens.⁵

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Invasion
of the
Goths, in the
year
A. D. 367,
Oct. 3.

The provinces of the Danube had been already relieved from the oppressive weight of the Gruthungi, or Ostrogoths, by the voluntary retreat of Alathicus and Saphrax: whose restless spirit had prompted them to seek new scenes of rapine and glory. Their destructive course was pointed towards the West; but we must be satisfied with a very obscure and imperfect knowledge of their various adventures. The Ostrogoths impelled several of the German tribes on the provinces of Gaul; concluded, and soon violated, a treaty with the emperor Gratian; advanced into the unknown countries of the North; and, after an interval of more than four years, returned, with accumulated force, to the banks of the Lower Danube. Their troops were recruited with the fiercest warriors of Germany and Scythia; and the soldiers, or at least the historians, of the empire, no longer recognised the name and countenances of their former enemies.⁶ The general, who commanded the military and naval powers of the Thracian frontier, soon perceived that his superiority would be disadvantageous to the public service; and that the barbarians, awed

* The short, but authentic, hints in the *Facts of History* (Cham. Andiger, p. 53) are stained with contemporary passion. The fourteenth edition of *Themistius* is a compliment to France, and the second *Saporianus* (A. D. 355).

⁵ *See* *the* *Annals* *of* *the* *Emperors*. Zosimus, l. iv, p. 212.

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by the presence of his fleet and legions, would probably defer the passage of the river till the approaching winter. The dexterity of the spies, whom he sent into the Gothic camp, allured the barbarians into a fatal snare. They were persuaded, that, by a bold attempt, they might surprise, in the silence and darkness of the night, the sleeping army of the Romans; and the whole multitude was hastily embarked in a fleet of three thousand canoes.³ The bravest of the Ostro-goths led the van; the main body consisted of the remainder of their subjects and soldiers; and the women and children securely followed in the rear. One of the nights without a moon had been selected for the execution of their design; and they had almost reached the southern bank of the Danube, in the firm confidence that they should find an easy landing, and an unguarded camp. But the progress of the barbarians was suddenly stopped by an unexpected obstacle; a triple line of vessels, strongly connected with each other, and which formed an impenetrable chain of two miles and a half along the river. While they struggled to force their way in the unequal conflict, their right flank was overwhelmed by the irresistible attack of a fleet of galleys, which were urged down the stream by the united im-

³ I am tentid, by reason and example, in applying this Indian name to the passage of the barbarians, the single trees hollowed into the shape of a boat, *velut arborum induraverit*. Zaimut, Liv. p. 222.

Aut Danubium quondam transire Gethung
In hincis fragori nectus; spe mille rudent
Per stratum glacie canes immensitas arci.

Claudian, in iv. Cons. Hon. 622.

pulse of oars and of the tide. The weight and velocity of these ships of war broke, and sunk, and dispersed, the rude and feeble canoes of the barbarians: their valour was ineffectual; and Alatheus, the king, or general, of the Ostrogoths, perished, with his bravest troops, either by the sword of the Romans, or in the waves of the Danube. The last divisions of this unfortunate fleet might regain the opposite shore; but the distress and disorder of the multitude rendered them alike incapable, either of action or counsel; and they soon implored the clemency of the victorious enemy. On this occasion, as well as on many others, it is a difficult task to reconcile the passions and prejudices of the writers of the age of Theodosius. The partial and malignant historian, who misrepresents every action of his reign, affirms that the emperor did not appear in the field of battle till the barbarians had been vanquished by the valour and conduct of his lieutenant Promotus.¹ The flattering poet, who celebrated, in the court of Honorius, the glory of the father and of the son, ascribes the victory to the personal prowess of Theodosius; and almost insinuates, that the king of the Ostrogoths was slain by the hand of the emperor.²

¹ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 212-213. He has frequently betrayed his poverty of judgment, by disgracing the most heroic narratives with trifling and incredible circumstances.

² ——— Odothas Regis opima.

Recurat ———

Var. 638.

The opima were the spoils which a Roman general could only win from the king or general, of the enemy, whom he had slain with his own hands; and no more than three such examples are celebrated in the victorious ages of Rome.

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XXVI.

The truth of history might perhaps be found in a just medium between these extreme and contradictory assertions.

Settlement
of the
Goths in
Thrace
and Asia.
A. D. 382.
284.

The original treaty which fixed the settlement of the Goths, ascertained their privileges, and stipulated their obligations, would illustrate the history of Theodosius and his successors. The series of their history has imperfectly preserved the spirit and substance of this singular agreement.* The ravages of war and tyranny had provided many large tracts of fertile but uncultivated land, for the use of those barbarians, who might not disdain the practice of agriculture. A numerous colony of the Visigoths was seated in Thrace: the remains of the Ostrogoths were planted in Phrygia and Lydia; their immediate wants were supplied by a distribution of corn and cattle; and their future industry was encouraged by an exemption from tribute, during a certain term of years. The barbarians would have deserved to feel the cruel and perfidious policy of the imperial court, if they had suffered themselves to be dispersed through the provinces. They required, and they obtained, the sole possession of the villages and districts assigned for their residence; they still cherished and propagated their native manners and language; asserted, in the bosom of despotism, the freedom of

* See Theodoretus, *Orat.* xvi. p. 211. Claudian (*de Europ.* l. ii. 112) mentions the Phrygian colony.—

——— Ostrogothos cultur mistique Grattingia

Phryx ager ———

and then proceeds to name the rivers of Lydia, the Pactolus and Hermus.

their domestic government; and acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperor, without submitting to the inferior jurisdiction of the laws and magistrates of Rome. The hereditary chiefs of the tribes and families were still permitted to command their followers in peace and war; but the royal dignity was abolished; and the generals of the Goths were appointed and removed at the pleasure of the emperor. An army of forty thousand Goths was maintained for the perpetual service of the empire of the East; and those haughty troops, who assumed the title of *Federati*, or allies, were distinguished by their gold collars, liberal pay, and licentious privileges. Their native courage was improved by the use of arms, and the knowledge of discipline; and, while the republic was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful sword of the barbarians, the last sparks of the military flame were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans.* Theodosius had the address to persuade his allies, that the conditions of peace which had been extorted from him by prudence and necessity, were the voluntary expressions of his sincere friendship for the Gothic nation.† A different mode of vindication or apology was

* Compare Jornandes, l. ii. c. 22, § 5, who marks the completion and number of the Gothic *Federati*, with Zosimus, l. iv. p. 122, who mentions their golden collars; and Pausanias, (in Pauly's Vol. 12, 374) who speaks, with false or foolish joy, their bravery and discipline.

† *Amicitia pacis gratulatioque Gothorum*, is the phrase bestowed by the Gothic historian, to. xxiii, who represents his nation as innocent, peaceable men, slow to anger, and patient of injuries. According to Livy, the Romans conquered the world in their own defence.

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opposed to the complaints of the people; who loudly censured these shameful and dangerous concessions.¹ The calamities of the war were painted in the most lively colours; and the first symptoms of the return of order, of plenty, and security, were diligently exaggerated. The advocates of Theodosius could affirm, with some appearance of truth and reason, that it was impossible to extirpate so many warlike tribes, who were rendered desperate by the loss of their native country; and that the exhausted provinces would be revived by a fresh supply of soldiers and husbandmen. The barbarians still wore an angry and hostile aspect; but the experience of past times might encourage the hope, that they would acquire the habits of industry and obedience; that their manners would be polished by time, education, and the influence of christianity; and that their posterity would insensibly blend with the great body of the Roman people.²

Their hostile sentiments.

Notwithstanding these specious arguments, and these sanguine expectations, it was apparent to every discerning eye, that the Goths

¹ Besides the partial invasions of Zosimus, already mentioned, see the Chastilian original, and the greater representations which Symmachus addressed to the emperor Arcadius, his *Regin.* p. 25, 26, edit. Pichet. The philosopher bishop of Cyrene was stout enough to judge; and he was sufficiently removed from the temptations of fear or flattery.

² Theodosius (*Orat.* 47, p. 311, 312) compares all idolatry and rational epichory, which is not, however, exempt from the penalties of Greek superstition. Orpheus could only charm the wild beasts of Thracia; but Theodosius exorcised the men and women, whose professions in the same country had torn Orpheus to pieces, &c.

would long remain the enemies, and might soon become the conquerors, of the Roman empire. Their rude and insolent behaviour expressed their contempt of the citizens and provincials, whom they insulted with impunity.* To the zeal and valour of the barbarians, Theodorus was indebted for the success of his arms: but their assistance was precarious: and they were sometimes seduced, by a treacherous and inconstant disposition, to abandon his standard, at the moment when their service was the most essential. During the civil war against Maximus, a great number of Gothic deserters retired into the morasses of Macedonia, wasted the adjacent provinces, and obliged the intrepid monarch to expose his person, and exert his power, to suppress the rising flame of rebellion.† The public apprehensions were fortified by the strong suspicion, that these tumults were not the effect of accidental passion, but the result of deep and premeditated design. It was generally believed, that the Goths had signed the treaty of peace with an hostile and insidious spirit; and that their chiefs had previously bound themselves, by a solemn and secret oath, never to keep faith with the Romans; to maintain the fairest show of loyalty and friendship, and to watch the fa-

* Constantinople was deplored, half a day, of the public alarm. source of horror, to explore the number of a Gothic nation: a source of sadness was the guilt of the people. *Liberius, Orit. lib. p. 284, etc. Moris.*

† Zosimus, l. iv. p. 267-271. He tells a long and ridiculous story of the adventurous prince, who roved the country with only five henchmen, of a spy whom they detected, whipped, and killed in an old woman's cottage, &c.

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honourable moment of rapine, of conquest, and of revenge. But, as the minds of the barbarians were not insensible to the power of gratitude, several of the Gothic leaders sincerely devoted themselves to the service of the empire, or, at least, of the emperor: the whole nation was insensibly divided into two opposite factions, and much sophistry was employed in conversation and dispute, to compare the obligations of their first, and second, engagements. The Goths, who considered themselves as the friends of peace, of justice, and of Rome, were directed by the authority of Fravitta, a valiant and honourable youth, distinguished above the rest of his countrymen, by the politeness of his manners, the liberality of his sentiments, and the mild virtues of social life. But the more numerous faction adhered to the fierce and faithless Priulf, who inflamed the passions, and asserted the independence, of his warlike followers. On one of the solemn festivals, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to the imperial table, they were insensibly heated by wine, till they forgot the usual restraints of discretion and respect; and betrayed, in the presence of Theodosius, the fatal secret of their domestic disputes. The emperor, who had been the reluctant witness of this extraordinary controversy, dissembled his fears and resentment, and soon dismissed the tumultuous assembly. Fravitta, alarmed and exasperated by the insolence of his rival, whose departure from the palace might have been the signal of a civil war, boldly followed him; and, drawing his sword, laid Priulf

dead at his feet. Their companions flew to arms; and the faithful champion of Rome would have been oppressed by superior numbers, if he had not been protected by the seasonable interposition of the imperial guards.* Such were the scenes of barbaric rage, which disgraced the palace and table of the Roman emperor: and, as the impatient Goths could only be restrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodosius, the public safety seemed to depend on the life and abilities of a single man.†

* Compare Eusebius *in* Eusebii *Logos*, p. 21, 22 with Zosimus, li. iv, p. 279. The difference of circumstances and names, must undoubtedly be applied to the same story. Frontinus, or Treverius, was afterwards consul, (A. D. 401); and still continued his faithful services to the eldest son of Theodosius, (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 467).

† Les Goths envahirent tout depuis le Danube jusqu'au Rhin; et interceptèrent Valens et ses armées; et se repaissant le Danube, que pour abandonner l'effroyable multitude qu'ils avoient faite, (Goussier de Mantesquien, tom. iii, p. 479; *Considerations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence des Romains*, c. xviii. The president Montesquieu seems ignorant, that the Goths, after the death of Valens, never abandoned the Roman territory. It is now thirty years, says Claudian, (*de Bello Getico*, 108, &c. A. D. 401).

Et quo jam pathe gens hæc abest Teuton.

Aurea Interit lætæque senu, vixisse sat

Thracia finemq; solo ———

The error is inexcusable; since it disguises the principal and immediate cause of the fall of the western empire of Rome.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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M.C

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